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and

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Literacy Learning of Adults in a Bilingual ESL Classroom

The purpose of this project was to investigate the nature of literacy teaching and learning in a bilingual ESL program. All learners were from Cambodia and all were fluent speakers of the Khmer language. Some reported that they were literate in Khmer whereas others reported either no literacy or only limited literacy in their first language. One of the teachers was an experienced English-speaking ESL teacher whereas the other was a Cambodian speaker. The major techniques used to gather data were observation, interviews, and journals. Results confirmed the positive impact of first language literacy on literacy development in a second language and showed that most learners used their knowledge of Khmer literacy, no matter how minimal, to help them learn English. The bilingual nature of the classroom helped provide learners with a voice, a way for them to contribute their cultural and language knowledge to the classroom. There were similarities between emergent literacy of young children and literacy learning of the nonliterate adults in this project.

Le but de ce projet était d'étudier la nature de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage de l'alphabetisation dans le contexte d'un programme bilingue d'anglais langue seconde (ALS). Les apprenant(e)s provenaient du Cambodge et tous parlaient le Khmer couramment. Quelques-un(e)s se disaient alphabétisé(e)s en Khmer tandis que d'autres se disaient presque pas ou pas du tout alphabétisé(e)s dans leur langue maternelle, le Khmer. L'enseignant qui parlait couramment l'anglais avait beaucoup d'expérience en ALS tandis que l'autre enseignant ne parlait que le cambodge. On s'est servi des techniques d'observations, d'entrevues, et de textes pris des revues spécialisées pour ramasser les données. Les résultats ont confirmé le rôle important que joue l'alphabétisation dans la langue maternelle sur le développement de l'alphabétisation d'une langue seconde. Les résultats démontrent que les participants apprenaient l'anglais en se basant sur leur connaissance de leur langue première, le Khmer, peu importe leur niveau de connaisssance ou d'alphabétisation de celle-ci. Ces cours bilingues permettaient aux apprenant(e)s de partager leurs connaissances langagières et culturelles avec les autres participant(e)s du cours. Dans ce projet on a noté des similarités entre l'alphabétisation émergente chez les jeunes enfants et l'aphabétisation chez les adultes non-alphabétisés.

ESL teachers of adults have traditionally viewed their major goal as teaching people how to speak English, using reading and writing to reinforce the learn-

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ing of spoken language. Until recently most adults in ESL classes were educated immigrants from Europe who were literate in an alphabetic language. However, with changing immigration patterns in Canada, the majority of immigrants are now from Southeast Asia and other areas where the Roman alphabet is not used. Phillips (1990) identifies three groups of adults appearing with greater frequency in Canadian ESL classrooms: (a) those who are literate in their first language but unfamiliar with the Roman alphabet; (b) those who have learned to speak English in informal contexts in Canada but have developed minimal literacy in either their first or second language; (c) and those who are not literate in their first language and can neither speak nor read in English. This latter group often consists of seniors or women who are isolated at home; even when they do register in ESL classes, the dropout rate is high (Burnaby, 1992; Murialdo, 1989).

Most language experts recommend that initial literacy instruction be provided in a learner's first language (Allen, 1991; Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979; Hudelson, 1987). Some research with children supports this contention (Campos & Keatinge, 1984; Modiano, 1973 cited in Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986; Rosier & Holm, 1980), although it is unclear whether the superior outcomes in these situations are due primarily to enhanced cognitive skills or to maintenance of cultural identity (Cummins, 1986). There is also considerable research to document the success of children in French immersion programs in Canada who have learned to read in their second language prior to developing first language (L1) literacy (Edwards, 1976; Genesee, 1987; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Lapkin, 1981). In both first language and French immersion contexts, however, research with children supports the contention that literacy proficiency in one language facilitates literacy development in a second language. Cummins (1986) has argued that these instances of educational success are related to the social status of the learner groups within the school context. The mechanism most commonly suggested to account for the positive impact of literacy in one language on literacy learning in another is transfer (Genesee, 1987; Hudelson, 1987; Kendall, Chmilar, Shapson, & Shapson, 1984; Malicky, Fagan & Norman, 1988). Cummins (1980) has hypothesized that cognitive/academic proficiencies in L1 and L2 are both manifestations of the same underlying dimension.

There has been almost no research with adults on the effects of first language literacy on second language learning, and Brown and Haynes (1985) caution against drawing analogies between child and adult L2 learners. One exception, a study by Robson (1981), investigated the language learning of four groups of adults registered in a three-month ESL program in a refugee camp in Thailand. Two of the groups were literate in their first language, one group was literate in a second language (not English), and members of the fourth group were not literate in any language. Robson (1981) found that the progress of learners was significantly correlated with literacy and that the nonliterate subjects "learned very, very little from the program, if anything at all" (pp. 12-13).

There is growing recognition of the lack of success that nonliterate adults experience in ESL programs, and some experts suggest that bilingual programs for these learners are a viable alternative (Hood, 1990; Phillips, 1990), with

instruction provided in both English and the learners' first language. Phillips (1990), reporting on a bilingual ESL program in Manitoba, indicates that provision for monolingual language groups and bilingual teachers greatly increased the participation of nonconfident learners in the program and allowed for much faster progress than is the case when the teacher does not speak the language of the learners. He did not provide any data, however, to support his claims and further research is needed.

Purpose of the Project

The major purpose of this project was to investigate the literacy teaching and learning of participants in a 10-month bilingual ESL program. Of particular interest was the fact that several of the learners were not literate in their first language and many of these people had been able to profit only minimally from their experience in English-only ESL classes. In light of strong recommendations that children be taught to read in their mother tongue, this project was designed to explore whether the opportunity to read in Khmer would assist nonliterate adults in their attempts to learn to function in the English language in both its written and oral forms. For learners who were literate in Khmer, the focus was on how first language literacy in Khmer would be used by both instructors and students to facilitate learning of a second language.

The Setting and Participants

The project was undertaken in a federal settlement language program sponsored by an immigrant-serving agency in a large urban center. This was an experimental bilingual class involving both an English-speaking and a Khmer-speaking teacher. The English-speaking teacher had received training in teaching English as a second language and had several years of experience working with low proficiency learners. The Khmer speaker had received a BSc and was working in his field. Although he had received no special training in education, he had taught himself English in the refugee camps in Thailand, and he had also taught others in the camps. Since his own arrival in Canada, he has been highly committed to helping Cambodian immigrants adjust to life in Canada.

In contrast to the English-only nature of most other ESL programs in the area, instruction in this program was provided in both English and Khmer. All the learners were from the same country (Cambodia) and all spoke the same language (Khmer). A core group of 17 learners attended classes regularly; 14 of these joined the project in September and three others began after Christmas. They ranged in age from 22 to 74 years, with an average of 48. There were 12 women and five men. The men were generally older than the women, and all reported that they had been farmers in Cambodia. They had been in Canada from nine months to five years, with an average stay of 2.4 years.

Five of the learners indicated that they could neither read nor write in Khmer, four indicated that they could read and write a little, two reported that they could read but not write (one was able to write a little in Thai as a result of a prolonged stay in a Thai refugee camp), and six said that they were able to both read and write in Khmer. Literacy was related to the gender and age of the learners: more younger than older people reported that they were literate, and only one man reported that he did not know how to read at all. It is important to note that, because of limited opportunities for formal education in Cam-

bodia (several had not attended school at all), even those learners who reported that they could read and write were not functioning at high levels of literacy development.

Only two learners reported that they had received instruction in English while in the refugee camps in Thailand, but 11 had previously attended ESL classes in Canada. The six who had no ESL training indicated that they had had to care for children or grandchildren or that they had not known about the classes.

When asked why they were involved in the project, a range of reasons was provided, the most common being the need for independence. Several indicated that they were dependent on their children for taking them places and doing things for them. The other two reasons mentioned frequently were the need to communicate with people (to understand and to be understood by others) and the need to know what is going on or to be knowledgeable.

The Literacy Program

The program evolved over the course of the project in response to the needs of the students and the beliefs of the teachers. The Khmer speaker, who had taught himself English using a systematic, grammar-based approach, tended to organize English instruction around linguistic structures. Although he had indicated in an interview near the beginning of the study that a grammatical approach would be effective only with people who had good knowledge of their own language, and that, therefore, this approach would probably not be successful with the individuals in this class, he did occasionally use grammatical terms in his teaching during the first few weeks. The learners generally did not understand these terms even when the language of instruction was Khmer, and he noted their frustration in his journal. Use of these terms as well as the focus on structures became less predominant across the year. The other major feature of this teacher's instruction was the focus on oral language learning. Although he frequently wrote sentences being learned on the chalkboard, his focus was on learning to say these sentences rather than on learning to read them.

In addition to his role as a teacher, the Khmer speaker also acted as an interpreter for the English-speaking teacher and at times for visitors to the classroom. He also assisted learners with health issues and citizenship matters as well as with correspondence in English from government and other agencies.

The English-speaking teacher placed less emphasis than did the Khmer speaker on structure and more on content. Photo stories were a common feature of instruction planned by this instructor, especially in the first half of the year. She organized several field trips both locally and one to another town, and these were the focus of many of the photo stories. This instructor also organized classroom visits by several members from the community in order to provide information for the learners about such topics as eye care, police services, and the recycling program. The focus on content was also evident in the provision of lists of high-utility words and expressions. These as well as the photo stories were placed in Duotang folders, and taped readings of the pages were sent home with learners for further practice. The focus on content was balanced by concern that learners understand the form of written language.

One way this was achieved was by giving each learner an alphabet book in which new words were recorded on a regular basis. This instructor emphasized all aspects of language functioning—speaking, listening, reading, and writing.

Because the major focus of the program was on English as a second language, learners were exposed to far less written material in Khmer than in English. In addition to the English materials noted above, they were provided with songs such as "O, Canada" and "Kumbaya" in written form which they sang along with tape recordings. Each participant was also given a picture dictionary, and books related to some of the field trips were brought to class.

One innovative use of Khmer script by the Cambodian teacher involved illustration of the pronunciation of English words written on the chalkboard. These transcriptions were often provided at the request of members of the class who were literate in Khmer. At other times, this teacher wrote actual Khmer words or phrases on the chalkboard to facilitate understanding of English. On a few occasions Cambodian songs were written on the chalkboard and sung by the students. At one point some of the literate students were asked to translate photo stories into Khmer for use by those with less Khmer literacy. Although most of the learners showed a great deal of interest in any written Khmer provided, they made it clear at this point that their major goal was to learn English. Overall, Khmer was more a medium than a focus of instruction, and there were few attempts to provide formal instruction in how to read or write in the Khmer language.

Despite the less than ideal physical setting in an industrial arts room, there was a positive atmosphere in the classroom. This was created to a large extent by the teachers, who were warm and caring, but it also resulted from the learners' keen desire and gratitude for the opportunity to learn. Having received little formal schooling in the past, the learners quickly responded to the relatively informal atmosphere established by the teachers. The Cambodian teacher frequently joked with the learners and other teachers and visitors in the classroom, and the learners in turn joked among themselves and with others. The collaborative relationship between the two teachers provided a model for learners who worked in an increasingly collaborative manner with one another across the year.

Procedures

This project was conducted in an ESL class situated in an industrial arts room at a public school in a large urban center. The class met three mornings per week from early September to the end of June. The research was both collaborative and qualitative in nature. It was collaborative in the sense that the two teachers and two university researchers involved in the project worked together to define its goals and parameters. Beyond this, however, the program was primarily the responsibility of the two teachers and collection of the data was primarily the responsibility of the two university researchers. Several techniques were used to gather data.

During the first month of the project and when new students joined the class, all were administered a structured interview by Khmer speakers to gather demographic data as well as information about their first language literacy status, what help they received outside of the class, and what they

hoped to gain from attending the class. Throughout the project, informal conversations with learners provided further information, and near the end of the project, brief interviews in Khmer were held with selected learners to obtain additional information. Unstructured individual and group interviews were also held with the teachers during visits of the investigators to the classroom.

In addition to interviews, the teachers also kept journals of their experiences in the program and learners were given notebooks to use as they wished. Field notes recorded how these notebooks were used and copies were made of the notebooks for analysis at the conclusion of the project. One of the university researchers regularly corresponded with some of the learners through their notebooks.

Participant observation was another major research technique used to gather data. Each of the researchers spent a half day per week in the classroom throughout most of the year. Most of this time was spent observing what was happening in the classroom and making field notes, although some time was spent working with individuals or with groups of students.

For the purposes of this article the researcher whose major focus was on literacy analyzed data from interviews, journals kept by learners and teachers, and field notes kept by that researcher. Data from the initial interviews with program participants were tabulated to obtain a description of the learners in the study. Teachers' notebooks and the field notes were read to obtain a description of the literacy program. Field notes were read to identify all instances of literacy learning, and these were color coded according to language (English and Khmer) and area (reading and writing). All color coded entries were then read and reread to identify recurring patterns of behavior, which were checked against learners' notebooks and interview data to formulate themes relating to literacy learning. An initial draft of the paper was written and this draft was read by the second university researcher and the two teachers in the project in order to validate and refine the description of the program and the interpretation of literacy learning.

Literacy Learning

This section presents the themes identified in data from interviews, notebooks, and field notes related to the literacy learning of adults in the bilingual ESL class involved in this project. The first two themes involve changes in the relationships between learners and others in their classroom and daily lives. The third focuses on the need of learners for mastery over what they were learning whereas the last three focus more specifically on literacy.

Participation

Initially much of the program was delivered in teacher-initiated, participant response format, but the learners gradually took greater initiative in establishing the direction of their own learning. This was enhanced by the teachers asking program participants to indicate what they wanted to learn and by encouraging them to evaluate what was happening in the class. For example, for the first half of the program, the teachers divided the class into two groups on the basis of language proficiency without input from the students regarding formation of these groups. Near the middle of the year the students indicated

that they preferred working as one large group and even though this made meeting the wide range of language and literacy needs more difficult, students tended to work more with one another to facilitate learning. As the program evolved, the classroom developed into a community of learners, with various individuals contributing in different ways.

The bilingual nature of the classroom was also a significant variable in enhanced participation by learners. By being able to contribute his cultural and language knowledge in Khmer, one of the oldest participants in the study was able to retain his position in the class as a respected elder even though his progress in learning English was limited. Both he and a female learner made similar comments about being silenced in an English-only context. The woman described herself as being like a mute tree; she had a mouth but could not speak. The man wrote the following to people in a refugee camp in Thailand in an attempt to urge them to learn English (translated from Khmer to English):

> We have eyes, but are blind. Our ears turn deaf.... We have difficulty in going to the store to buy food. We do not know how or what to ask; therefore, we cannot tell whether the food we want to buy is delicious or not, or whether it is salty or sweet. Some of us even buy animal food by mistake.

With a bilingual teacher in the classroom, the adults with limited or no formal education found themselves in a context where they were no longer mute or blind.

Independence and Control

In the interviews, a desire for independence was the most frequent reason given by learners for their participation in the project, and progress toward this goal was reflected in their literacy learning in several ways. First, and perhaps most interesting in light of the bilingual nature of this class, was the way learners used their knowledge of literacy in Khmer to facilitate literacy and language learning in English. This was particularly evident for those who had reported that they were literate in Khmer and was clearly illustrated in the field notes for one of the older men. During the first month or so, he seemed to be confused about what was happening in the class and did not appear to be learning anything. He then began to ask the Cambodian teacher to write words in Khmer or Khmer phonetics on the chalkboard, and he used these and information from his son at home to work on lists of words and to make his own English/Khmer dictionary. Later he began to ask volunteers and researchers in the classroom to enunciate clearly the English words he had copied into his notebook so he could write these in Khmer phonetics. His pronunciation of English words based on these phonetics was remarkably accurate.

Even those learners who had indicated that they knew how to read and write in Khmer only "a little" included phonetic representations in Khmer for some of the English words they copied from the chalkboard into their notebooks, as shown in Figure 1. Few had English speakers to help them outside of the class and, as one woman indicated, the Khmer helped her remember how to pronounce the words when she was studying on her own at home. Learners with limited Khmer literacy sometimes needed assistance in writing words in Khmer and frequently asked others students with higher

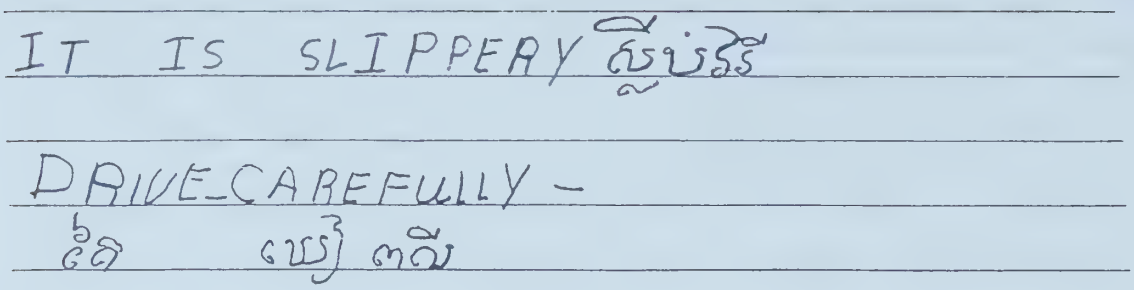

Figure 1.

levels of literacy to help them. The Cambodian teacher noted considerable growth in writing proficiency in Khmer for some of these individuals.

In addition to using their knowledge of Khmer literacy to support their efforts in learning English, learners also made increasing use of printed English materials for reference. For example, in late January one of the women was observed using her picture dictionary to locate words she wanted to write in her notebook. On another occasion, when asked to fill in a form, several independently referred to their Alberta Health Care cards and other resources for information regarding birthdate, address, and so forth. One of the men who had recently moved used an envelope from a bag he had brought from home to obtain his new address.

There was also evidence of increased awareness that print could be used to gain independence in daily living. One day two policemen visited the classroom, and one of the members of the class wrote the emergency numbers provided by them on a small piece of paper and put it in his wallet for future reference. On another day, another man brought four sentences written in Khmer that he wished to have translated into English, to assist him with banking and going to the doctor. One of the women regularly asked teachers and volunteers in the class how to say things she wished to communicate to her landlord or doctor and wrote these in her notebook in English to refer to later.

Across the study, learners in the classroom showed increased independence in their use of knowledge of Khmer literacy to support their learning of English, in their willingness and ability to ask others (students, volunteers, researchers, and teachers) for what they needed to know, and in their ability to use literacy for functional purposes in their school and daily lives.

Mastery Learning

Closely related to increased independence was the need of learners for mastery over what they were learning. The Cambodian teacher frequently noted in his journal student requests for review or that he introduce fewer words and sentences at a time.

This need for mastery was evident in the field notes of classroom activities as well and is illustrated by three examples. First, when the class learned the song "Kumbaya," learners sang it as a class many times across several days. Learners with higher levels of English literacy helped those with no or very limited literacy to match oral with written language by pointing to words as they were sung. Low literacy learners also practiced singing the song between class activities, frequently with volunteers or other students helping them

match printed and spoken words. Eventually all members of the class achieved an accurate speech-to-print match for this song.

A second example of mastery learning related to the learning and practice of high-utility questions and answers, for example, What is your telephone number? Learners practiced these with each other and with volunteers, guests, and researchers in the classroom over a period of several weeks until everyone was able to ask and answer many of the questions correctly.

Finally, on one occasion, they played Word Bingo for nearly two hours using the same Bingo card in order to master the words on it. It was their idea rather than the teachers' to continue with the activity. Unlike the situation in many ESL classes, the students here wanted to persevere on a single task for long periods of time.

Relationship Between Oral and Written Language

Initially those learners who were literate in Khmer understood the relationship between oral and written language, but the others did not. A range of activities in the classroom helped the nonliterate adults to establish this link and at the same time exposed those who were literate to more words in English. The teachers wrote words in English on the chalkboard, saying them aloud as they wrote. The learners also engaged in choral reading of sentences from the chalkboard or of photo stories, with the teachers pointing to words as they were read. However, the most useful activity involved singing in both languages from written texts.

The first time a song was written in Khmer on the chalkboard was in November; although several class members looked at the song as they sang, nothing further was done with it. During December, however, two other Cambodian songs were written on the chalkboard, and for both, one of the men who was literate in Khmer pointed to the sentences as the others sang. In addition, the Cambodian-speaking teacher underlined units in one of the songs to help the learners associate words they were singing with units in the text. Later in the week one of the literate members wrote one of these songs on flipchart paper as three women dictated the words to him. The women followed the painstaking writing intently for over an hour.

The English song "Kumbaya" was introduced in November both on the chalkboard and on sheets for each individual. As indicated above, a considerable period of time was devoted to having learners point to words as they sang, and once most had established eye-voice matching, one of the teachers pointed randomly to individual words in the song for learners at higher levels of literacy to identify. Other English songs and chants were subsequently introduced and similar activities undertaken to establish the link between oral and written language.

Abstract and Invariant Nature of Written Language

Even when some of the nonliterate learners were able to eye-voice match, they did not yet completely understand the abstract and invariant nature of written language. They neither knew what they were reading nor that the same oral word was always associated with the same written word. This was reflected in what they did with both letters and words.

Initially many of the nonliterate members of the class appeared to draw rather than write letters, with the result that what they drew did not always look like real letters. They did not appear to have developed concepts for what letters and words were and so they frequently left words unfinished. This was particularly evident in the notebooks of one nonliterate married couple, who indicated through an interpreter that they could not tell where Khmer letters started or stopped. They had been in a five-month full-time ESL program prior to coming to this class but indicated that they had been totally lost and in fact understood and spoke no English when they entered this project in September. Their copying of English from the chalkboard was quite disorganized, especially in the beginning. They often did not copy complete words or sentences and made frequent errors, sometimes related to the way the letters were written on the chalkboard. Indeed some of the letters they wrote were not actual letters in English as shown in Figure 2. Once the woman copied the same sentence twice, not seeming to realize that she had already written it. Still, some concepts about print did seem to be developing as a result of their copying. They generally wrote from left to right and top to bottom, they usually left spaces between words, and most letters were correctly formed. They also gave evidence of understanding the relationship between oral and written language. One day, for example, when the Canadian-born teacher said, "It's noisy in here," the man immediately opened his Duotang folder containing sentences and photo stories provided by the English teacher and found the sentence that matched what he had heard. He and his wife reported that they tried to read material in their Duotang folder at home along with the audiotape provided by the teacher.

Early awareness that the identity of letters is invariant was reflected for some class members in their question, "What's that letter?" on occasions when one of the teachers half wrote and half printed words on the chalkboard. That the learners were concerned about being unable to name the letters indicated that they knew letters could be named and that the same name had to go with the same shape each time. Next, some but not all of the adults who were nonliterate in Khmer began to name the letters as they wrote them in their notebooks from the chalkboard. The nonliterate man referred to above never did name letters as he wrote them, although he frequently went to the chalkboard and pointed to letters for other people to name indicating that he knew specific names were associated with specific letters.

Meaning or Form

An ongoing debate in the literature involves whether initial reading instruction should emphasize meaning or form (see, e.g., Adams, 1990; Chall, 1967). Al-

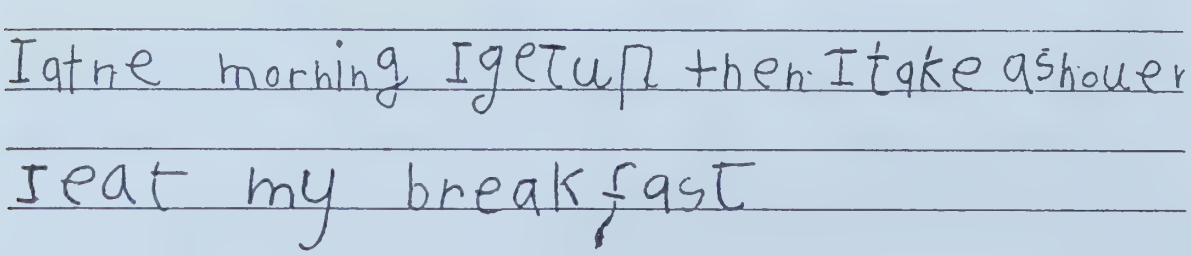

Figure 2.

though not a major focus of the current study, notebooks of the learners did provide some information related to this debate. The initial focus of some learners was on the form of written language, with concern for forming or drawing letters predominating over concern for meaning. They did not yet completely understand the communicative function of written language. This was particularly true of those learners who were nonliterate in Khmer; only one member of this group responded to the university researcher's invitation to write back and forth. On her first attempt to respond, she copied sentences written for her by her husband, and on her other two attempts she actually had him write for her and sign her name. She obviously knew that communication was the goal but lacked the mechanical skills to write the message herself.

Another woman, who had indicated that she knew how to read and write "a little" in Khmer, also focused on meaning in her written exchanges with the researcher. She began by drawing pictures and then wrote a letter in Khmer ending with the English sentence, "Thank you from ___." When urged to try to write in English, she received help from one of the two women who wrote to the researcher regularly in English and then reverted to writing in Khmer.

Two young women who had reported that they were more proficient readers and writers engaged in regular letter writing with the university researcher. They wrote the letters themselves and although there were some grammatical errors, their messages were generally comprehensible. They appeared at a superficial level to be preoccupied with form as they frequently asked the researcher to correct their written language in their journals. However, their concern was more likely rooted in a desire to use correct forms to communicate meaning more precisely, as shown in Figure 3.

Overall, meaning and form were both important for learners in this study, with the degree of relative importance dependent on the stage of literacy development an individual had reached. Individuals at higher levels of literacy development had a considerable degree of control over both aspects of written language.

Discussion and Implications

The results of this study generally echo the findings with children that first language literacy facilitates literacy development in a second language. This was evident in both the participants' journals and in observations of everyday classroom activities. Some writers speculate that the greater the similarity between the writing systems of the two languages, the greater the potential for transfer (e.g., Genesee, 1979). Khmer and English are both alphabetic, although Khmer does not use the Roman alphabet, and for both print is arranged on the

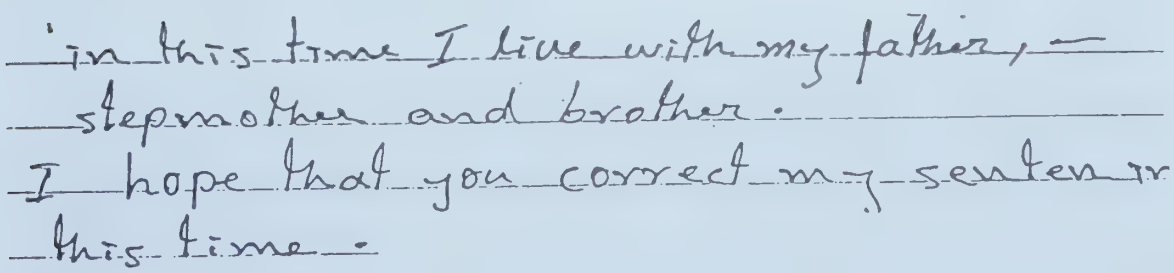

Figure 3.

page in a left-to-right and top-to-bottom orientation. Although there are several differences between the writing systems in linguistic structure and form, the adults in this study "appeared to apply what they figured out about the process in one language to reading in another language" (Hudelson, 1987, p. 839). Because of the effect of L1 literacy on language and literacy learning in L2, it is important for ESL teachers to know whether adults in their classes are literate in their first language in order to plan appropriate learning activities (Derwing & Ho, 1991).

Although students in any ESL class could use first language literacy to facilitate learning of English, the bilingual nature of this class helped learners to transfer their literacy knowledge from Khmer to English. Even learners with limited Khmer literacy attempted to use this knowledge to help them learn both the oral and written forms of English. All but two members of the class wrote Khmer phonetics and/or words beside English in their notebooks to help them read and say the words. As a result of this type of activity, not only was English learning facilitated, but the Cambodian teacher noted improvements in L1 literacy for several of the participants as well. Although those who had developed a higher level of reading proficiency in L1 generally developed English literacy more easily, there was no evidence to support the need to delay English literacy development until L1 literacy has reached proficiency. L1 and L2 literacy developed side by side for many of the nonliterate or low-literate participants in this study.

The bilingual nature of the classroom also facilitated what Murialdo (1989) refers to as "the constant search of nonliterate adults for the opportunity to participate in their own language and contribute their knowledge and ideas to the learning process they are a part of" (p. 8). Weinstein-Shr (1990) describes the ideal classroom as one in which both teachers and learners learn about the world through one another's eyes. The bilingual classroom in this project empowered participants who in other contexts were silenced. Simon (1987) writes, "to empower is to enable those who have been silenced to speak. It is to enable the self-affirming expression of experiences mediated by one's history, language, and traditions" (p. 374). The bilingual nature of the classroom in this project provided learners with a voice to facilitate their language and literacy learning in both Khmer and English.

The nature of the program gave the learners in this project a chance not only to express themselves, but to maintain their own cultural identities. Much of the discussion in the classroom naturally centered around issues of importance in the Cambodian community, and the presence of the bilingual instructor made it possible for the ESL teacher to respond directly to students' immediate interests and to learn more about their culture. In Cummins' (1986) terms, the classroom allowed for "cultural incorporation."

Although it is important for educators not to view adults as "large children" and use the same methods and materials used with children (Newton, 1980, p. 3), there were some striking parallels between the literacy learnings of nonliterate adults in this study and those of children in the emergent stage of literacy development. Sulzby (1991) defines emergent literacy as "the reading and writing behaviors of young children that precede and develop into conventional literacy" (p. 273). The nonliterate adults in this study demonstrated

increased awareness of the nature, functions, and forms of written language across the course of the project (Temple & Gillet, 1989). They showed awareness that words represent language and learned to match speech to print. The phonetic representation of English words in Khmer script indicated awareness of the sounds in words, although few could be heard actually verbalizing sounds as they wrote or as they attempted to identify words. They also learned that the message is carried in the print, that print is arranged from left to right and top to bottom, that the same letter can be written in different ways and still retain its identity, and that the letters of the alphabet can be arranged in varied orders to produce large numbers of words. These types of understandings are not measured on traditional tests of reading and writing. However, as with children, a basic understanding of the nature and form of written language is a necessary prerequisite of conventional literacy. Two of the instructional practices that were particularly useful in the development of emergent literacy for the nonliterate adults in this study were the use of photo stories and of songs. Whether in Khmer or English, the songs served the same purpose for the adults in this study as predictable books serve for young children. The adults were able to internalize the oral form of written language and then to map this onto the written form to establish speech-to-print match (Doake, 1981). One implication of these findings is not that adults should be taught like children, but rather that ESL teachers need to understand the nature of emergent literacy development so they will be able to provide appropriate literacy experiences for nonliterate adults.

A second implication has to do with the value of multicultural ESL classrooms at the literacy level, particularly as they are now structured in the federal language training programs. As Cumming and Gill (1992) have shown in a study involving Indo-Canadian women, programs and policies need to take into account characteristics of learners and concomitant barriers if their needs are to be met. The Cambodians who participated in this course, especially those with the least education at the outset, enjoyed considerably more success than they had in multicultural ESL programs both in terms of language and literacy development and independence and confidence. The viability of monolingual, multicultural classrooms for low literacy adults is questionable. Further research into bilingual models in adult literacy programs is called for if immigrants are to access programming most suitable to their needs.

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Coping with Stress during the Teaching Practicum: The Student Teacher's Perspective

This study explored the causes of stress student teachers experienced during the teaching practicum and investigated strategies student teachers implemented to cope with this stress. Research was conducted between September 1991 and April 1992 with 11 student teachers in an on-campus primary junior teacher education program. Research methods included a survey of all participants, focus group interviews, observation visits, and journal writings. Student teachers viewed the teaching practicum as the most stressful part of their teacher education program. Analysis of the data indicated that the following categories of factors were sources of stress during the teaching practicum: role clarification, expectations, conformity, time, evaluation, assignments, peer discussions, and feedback. In their focus group interviews, observation visits, and journal writings, student teachers identified communication, conformity, initiative, goal setting, and relaxation techniques as strategies for coping with stress. Student teachers also made recommendations regarding evaluation, assignments, and the length of the practicum that have implications for faculties of education.

Cette étude explorait les causes du stress chez les stagiaires lors de leur stages d'enseignement pratique et quelles stratégies les stagiaires utilisaient pour vaincre ce stress. Entre septembre 1991 et avril 1992, on a suivi 11 stagiaires d'un programme de formation d'enseignant(e)s aux niveaux primaire et intermédiaire. Parmi les méthodologies de recherche, on peut inclure des sondages de tous les participant(e)s, des entrevues de groupes se spécialisant sur des aspects particuliers de l'enseignement pratique, des visites et des observations en salle de classe, et des entrées dans des journaux personnels. Les stagiaires percevaient l'enseignement pratique comme étant la partie la plus stressante de toute leur formation professionnelle d'enseignant(e)s. Lors de l'analyse des données, les catégories suivantes ont été identifiées comme étant des causes de stress pendant les stages d'enseignement pratique: la clarification des rôles, les attentes, la conformité, le temps, l'évaluation, les travaux, les discussions avec les pairs et la rétroaction. Lors des entrevues de groupes, des observations en salle de classe et dans leurs journaux personnels, les stagiaires ont identifié des stratégies telles que voici qui leur permettaient de bien fonctionner malgré le stress: la communication, la conformité, l'initiative pour œuvrer vers des buts prédéterminés, et des techniques de relaxation. Les stagiaires ont aussi présenté des suggestions vis-à-vis l'évaluation, les travaux, et la durée des stages qui affecteraient le fonctionnement des facultés d'éducation.

Introduction

The literature on the teaching practicum suggests that student teachers experience high levels of stress regarding the practicum and that little is done to minimize the effects of this stress (Aitken & Mildon 1991; Bowers, Eicher, & Sacks 1983; Kalekin-Fishman & Kornfeld 1991; MacDonald 1992; MacDonald, MacKinnon, Joyce, & Gurney 1992; Tardif 1985; Wideen & Holborn 1986).

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MacDonald (1992) found that although student teachers consider the teaching practicum a valuable experience, they also view it as the most stressful part of the teacher education program. Tardif (1985) has also written of the stress student teachers feel during the practicum: "They worry about being liked by the students, about being able to handle the 'kids,' about how they would do" (p. 148). Kalekin-Fishman and Kornfeld (1991) have further supported the notion that student teachers are under considerable stress during the practicum.

These research findings on stress point to the need for more research in this area. In particular, information on how student teachers cope with the stress they experience during their practicum is necessary. This article examines the *strategies* student teachers use to cope with situations they find stressful in their teaching practicum.

Methodology

This study of how student teachers cope with the stress they experience during the teaching practicum was conducted between September 1991 and April 1992. In September 1991, all 11 members of one seminar group in an on-campus primary junior teacher education program were invited to become participants in an in-depth study of their teaching practicum. The teacher education program lasts for eight months. It involves on-campus classes taught by professors and a total of 12 weeks of teaching practica: eight weeks of evaluated practica and four weeks of nonevaluated practica.

On admission to the program, student teachers are randomly placed in seminar groups of 11 students. In 11 such seminar groups this format is used to cover the content of two required academic courses: psychological and sociological foundations of education. The seminar group meets for three hours a week on campus. Each seminar group has a leader who is a faculty member. The seminar leader assists in the placement of student teachers for all their teaching practica and visits student teachers while they are on their placements.

During a regularly scheduled seminar meeting in September 1991, student teachers were informed of the study's objectives and methodology and advised of their responsibilities as participants (participating in *all* aspects of data collection, including a survey, focus group interviews, observation visits, and journal writing). Student teachers were further informed that all data would be kept in a locked file, that only the study's researchers would see the data, and that anonymity would be preserved by using pseudonyms for all names and sites. It was also made clear at this time that all participants were free to withdraw themselves, their data, or both from the study at any time (this option was provided both orally and in writing), and all participants were asked to sign a consent form establishing their participation in the study *and* their recognition of the safeguards designed to ensure confidentiality.

In September 1991, all 11 participants were administered a survey asking them to identify probable sources of stress in their teacher-education year. The survey was distributed and completed in a 30-minute period during a regularly scheduled seminar meeting. Student teachers were asked to write freely about their opinions, problems, anxieties, beliefs, needs, and frustrations regarding becoming a teacher. The surveys were read and reread in an effort to

determine acceptable and meaningful categories that would assist in understanding, organizing, and explaining the findings.

Two focus group interviews were held with the 11 student teachers. The focus group interviews lasted approximately 120 minutes and took place in late October 1991 and April 1992. The purpose was to obtain information about student teachers' understanding of events and relationships and about their views on the teaching practicum. Through a series of open-ended questions, student teachers were asked to talk about their experiences and perspectives. Field notes and audiotapes were made of these sessions and transcribed for data analysis. Transcripts were read and reread; during this process, themes, regularities, and patterns were documented. Interpretations of these interviews were discussed with participants for verification and clarification.

Observation visits were made to each student teacher's classroom between November 1991 and April 1992. The purpose of these visits was to look at relationships by observing student teachers in various contexts. During these visits, which took place once during each two-week placement, observations were made, problem areas discussed, and encouragement and praise given. In addition, notes were taken during each visit; these notes were immediately converted into detailed observation reports. Each report was systematically documented and analyzed to search for and identify patterns and themes, which were then used to supplement findings from the survey and from participants' journals.

All participants recorded their experiences, concerns, and questions related to becoming a teacher in a personal journal maintained throughout the teacher education year. These journals were read once a month and used to document student teachers' impressions and to supplement the information obtained from the survey, focus group interviews, and observation visits.

Throughout the year, surveys, interview transcripts, observation reports, and journals were reviewed regularly to identify emerging conceptual categories and to identify questions to guide further data collection. All data were read and reread repeatedly to ensure that their intent was understood. The data were also studied by searching for patterns, themes, similarities, and differences. During this process the emphasis was on deriving meaning from the data that would explain and describe participants' perspectives regarding stress during the teaching practicum. Findings from all data sources were compared with initial categories to refine and modify the original conceptualizations.

As a result of this analysis, categories were established to assist with understanding and summarizing participants' perspectives on stress during the practicum. The categories identified were then presented to participants for correction, clarification, amplification, and verification. The analysis was regarded as complete when all data could be read with no additional components surfacing.

The findings were analyzed, and their significance was determined by considering their relevance to the research issues, comparing results with those in the literature, and reflecting on my own experiences in the teaching field.

Findings

Sources of Stress

Although the student teachers in this study found their teaching practicum a valuable experience, they also viewed it as the most stressful part of their teacher education program. Analysis of the data from the survey, journals, focus group interviews, and observation visits indicated that the following categories of factors were sources of stress during the teaching practicum: role clarification, expectations, conformity, time, evaluation, assignments, peer discussions, and feedback.

Role clarification. There is considerable debate in the literature about the multidimensional nature of the associate teacher's role. Olson and Carter (1989) acknowledge that the role is indeed complex, including as it does such dimensions as model, mentor, provider of feedback, and coach. Student teachers in this study reported feeling stress because they were never certain what their role in the associate teacher's classroom was. Teachers also indicated that every associate teacher had different expectations and that associate teachers often failed to discuss or articulate these expectations. This left student teachers in the vulnerable position of second-guessing both the associate teacher's role and their role in the associate teacher's classroom:

> For me, most of the stress disappeared as soon as I knew exactly what I was to be doing ... I was always second-guessing, well where should I fit in, and how much initiative should I take. I think that is one of my main sources of stress, just not knowing what your role is. (Sam, first focus group interview)

Expectations. Not knowing associate teachers' expectations regarding discipline, lesson plans, daily routines, amount of teaching, roles, and evaluations was a great source of stress for student teachers during their practica:

> I am not sure how the associate feels about me. There never seems to be much of a reaction from her so I am never sure what she really thinks. I am pretty sure that her noise and tolerance level is different than mine so I am not certain what her reaction to me is. Here I am waiting—talk about stress. (Mary, journal)

Student teachers even found that addressing their concerns with associate teachers did not always alleviate their stress:

> I am becoming frustrated because my teacher has asked me what I wanted to do. Then I tell her, and she says, "OK, I can put off what I was going to do." The next day when I was ready to roll, she said, "I was thinking we'd do this today." Surely she hasn't forgotten! I have difficulty telling her about my frustrations because I don't want to offend her or imply that what I have planned is better. Being in someone else's classroom is a forced situation. (Joan, journal)

Conformity. Student teachers perceived it was their role to "fit into" the structure and practices already set up in the classroom they were visiting whether they agreed with them or not (Jelinek 1986; MacDonald 1992; Tardif 1985). Much of the debate in the literature regarding the teaching practicum revolves around the issue of modeling versus experimentation (Goodman 1988). In the first focus group interview Joan expressed her feelings about conforming to associate teachers' practices: "I was going to 'fit in' to the extent that the teacher wanted me to fit in." In many cases, student teachers in this

study further felt that their evaluation would suffer if they did not teach like the associate teacher. Concerns about conforming were expressed during the focus group interviews and in participants' journals:

> One of the things that is most difficult about being in someone else's classroom is that you are reluctant to take a lot of initiative. The associate teachers may say that you can do anything you want, but nonverbally you would be telling the teacher you didn't like the way she/he did something or that you could do it better. I know I will be a lot better, a more innovative teacher on my own than in the practicums. (Joan, journal)

Time. Student teachers said that they wanted time to discuss concerns with associate teachers (Freiman-Nemser & Buchmann 1987; Housego 1987; MacDonald 1992). In their journals student teachers described how *not* having this time caused stress:

> I didn't know what the problem was, but somehow the teacher and I just weren't clicking. She never had any time for me. (Kumari, second focus group interview)

Evaluation. Student teachers reported feeling pressured by the control associate teachers have because of their role in evaluation: "The associate teachers certainly have you over a barrel when you know they will be evaluating you" (Evelyn, journal).

According to the student teachers many associate teachers did not feel comfortable using the evaluation form and interpreted it differently. Student teachers further stated that associate teachers had different expectations and different evaluation criteria—some always marked high, and others always marked low, for instance—and that the evaluation form compounded the problem by not providing enough guidance for associate teachers:

> I have noticed in my different placements that the teacher determines what goes on the report. It's not really about me. I think the report reflects them more them than it reflects me. (Sally, second focus group interview)

Student teachers said that discipline was the main concern for associate teachers and controlling the class the prime criterion for receiving a high evaluation during the practicum. This caused stress for a number of student teachers, because many disagreed with associate teachers' methods of disciplining students. Student teachers addressed these concerns during the second focus group interview and in their journals:

> A new teacher will get hired based on recommendations by associate teachers, and from what I've heard and encountered, associate teachers are most concerned with a student teacher's ability at classroom management. Actually that seems to be the criterion teachers use to assess whether a teacher has been good or poor. If teachers can keep their class under control, then they must be a good teacher. (Joan, journal)

> One of the things I find stressful in the classroom is discipline and classroom control—when there is a conflict between what is OK for you and what is OK for the teacher. When I go back for the practicum, do I do it according to what I want or what the teacher wants? And do you get the children to be quiet the same way the teacher does, do you use their methods, or do you try your own? (Jane, first focus group interview)

Assignments. The number of assignment and the amount of group work related to the assignments during the practica were also sources of stress:

> I am burnt out yet I have no time to rest. If I can't have rest, why do they keep piling on assignments? (Sally, journal)

> This week has been the most chaotic and stressful week—it was not so much the amount of work but the amount of group work. (Karen, journal)

> There are too many assignments and although several are very brief, there are still dates to remember and things nagging to get done. The amount of assignments never seems to be reduced. It seems that as soon as you cross a few things off the list, more are added. (Mary, journal)

Peer discussions. Casual discussions with peers were often about what student teachers *assumed* or *heard* had happened or about what they had experienced during practica. Sometimes these conversations led to comparisons of experiences and grades, and student teachers said that these discussions and comparisons were a major source of stress:

> I am feeling a little pressure after talking to everyone else. Some of the other students have taught during their practicum from day 1, and I'm feeling inadequate as I am only teaching about half the time. I'm only pressuring myself by comparing myself to them. (Sally, journal)

> I want to know how I come out in relation to the other students. I don't like this competitive feeling, and the inner voice that goes with it that says, "You have to work harder, longer, more intensely." And this only happens when I compare myself with others. Crazy making! (Pat, journal)

> I feel really disappointed with my evaluation. I've heard that these evaluations affect your job potential. We're all frantically comparing evaluations and worrying about our chances at getting jobs. This imposes an enormous stress on me during my practice teaching. (Joan, journal)

Student teachers placed where their peers had already been had information about the associate teacher and his or her classroom before starting their practicum. This information affected stress in one of two ways:

> I was nervous because what the previous person [student teacher] said was negative.... I would say that it added to the stress. (Sam, first focus group interview)

> Well, I went back to a teacher that another student teacher had been with. I would say that it definitely lessened the stress, being aware of the persona. (Debbie, first focus group interview)

Feedback. There was little consistency in the amount of feedback student teachers received from associate teachers. Student teachers reported that receiving little or no feedback was a source of stress:

> I am not learning anything from my associate teacher. Most of the time she is out of the room when I'm teaching. Yet when she is there, she rarely provides any constructive feedback. It's the feedback I get from the children that is most rewarding to me. (Sam, journal)

On the other hand, student teachers who received more feedback said it reduced their stress level and made them feel comfortable and confident during practica:

> Both my associate teachers were very supportive and encouraging, and I think that reduced stress right off the bat. After I had done a whole group lesson, I wondered, I thought it went pretty well. But, she said, "Great, I thought that was wonderful, you did a great job." And that made me feel wonderful, that made me feel confident. (Mary, second focus group interview)

In general, associate teachers either gave no feedback at all or provided excessively positive feedback. Student teachers found that constructive criticism and discussions and analyses of teaching practices were rarely present during their practicum:

> Tuesday was the big day—our first lesson teaching. We got such a glowing review that all I could think was—they underestimated our ability. (Karen, journal)

Student teachers suggested in focus group interviews, observation visits, and journal writings that associate teachers' lack of constructive criticism was an attempt to avoid conversation. Several student teachers reported that they had a difficult time establishing a relationship with their associate teachers:

> I found that more than anything else, just that whole feeling that nobody wants to criticize, because if you criticize then you are open for conversation. I have been to three different places now, and no one has had any kind of constructive criticism. (Karen, second focus group interview)

At times student teachers felt that their associate teachers were trying to avoid them. This was a real source of frustration and stress, as the following journal writing demonstrates:

> My associate teacher is a very difficult person to track down. If I come in early in the mornings—she disappears on my arrival and does not return until the bell goes. I don't know if this is deliberate or part of her normal routine. This also happens at recess and dismissal time. She keeps trying to get rid of me. (Evelyn, journal)

Coping Strategies

In their focus group interviews, observation visits, and journal writings, student teachers identified the following strategies for coping with stress during the teaching practicum: communication, conformity, initiative, goal setting, and relaxation techniques.

Communication. During *both* focus group interviews, student teachers said that the stresses identified as role clarification, expectations, and conformity could be reduced if better communication were established with their associate teachers:

> I think just open communication with the teacher right from the start ... just talk to the teachers right from the beginning ... what do you expect from me and how do you see my role? (Sam, second focus group interview)

Conformity. One of the causes of stress, feeling the need to conform, was also a technique student teachers used to cope with stress. This coping strategy was addressed in journals and during the second focus group interview:

> Some people [student teachers] mentioned getting along with the associate teachers. That is something you learn to do. You learn by being with them what it is they want you to do, what they don't want you to do, and what they feel comfortable with. It is an art because you've got to realize how to fit in with them and when you can fit in everything goes well. (Mary, journal)

Initiative. Student teachers reported that they had better relationships with associate teachers when they showed initiative. However, student teachers said that the *amount* of initiative they could show depended on the associate teacher with whom they were working. Student teachers further suggested that not all associate teachers appreciated initiative and that some wanted student teachers to simply fit into existing routines and methods. Student teachers discussed this issue in their journals and during both focus group interviews:

> You have to start by fitting in, but at the same time I think the teacher is looking for initiative. So not only do you have to fit in but you have to be different. (Kumari, second focus group interview)

> Yes I think it is my role to be flexible and fit in and understand what the teacher is trying to do. But I think I have to try to as much as I can to do what they feel comfortable letting me do. Say "Would you mind if I did this? Could I try doing this?" (Mary, second focus group interview)

Goal setting. During the second focus group interview, student teachers reported that identifying their goals before arriving in the associate teacher's classroom reduced stress considerably. Setting goals gave student teachers *and* associate teachers a focus for evaluation and the establishment of roles:

> One thing I found helpful was the goal sheet in the handbook. Just to write down a few things I wanted to work on during the upcoming two weeks. It helps the teacher to have a focus in evaluating and identifies what areas you feel need improvements. (Sam, second focus group interview)

Relaxation techniques. Student teachers said that various relaxation techniques helped them cope with the stress of the teaching practicum. In their journals and in both focus group interviews, student teachers identified talking with peers, meditation, yoga, sports, traveling, journal writing, and ballet as relaxation techniques:

> I really enjoy sharing my journal with you. I love getting it back and seeing what comments you wrote in it this time. It is like a confidential communication technique! (Pat, journal)

> It is amazing how sometimes we get so involved and over-involved that we lose sight of the broader picture. Going away for a few days really helped. Just driving out of town—getting away from the city helped tremendously. (Jane, journal)

Ironically, one of the categories identified as a cause for stress, peer discussions, was also a strategy used for coping with stress. This strategy was ad-

dressed during the second focus group interview, observation visits, and journal writings:

> It [talking with other student teachers] alleviated some of the stress because you get to hear about some of the things they might have done or are having trouble with. You can share and brainstorm. (Joan, second focus group interview)

Student teachers suggested that a key strategy for coping with stress was to deal with external strategies *internally*. Several said they did this through meditation, yoga, and sports. They also suggested that these techniques could be incorporated into the teacher education program:

> I think that stress is always going to be there. A lot of it is your own attitude. Sometimes you have to take a mental-health day to get yourself away from the stress so you get yourself working in a broader perspective. So you are not focusing on and comparing how bad you are, or how much better you could be. All these things that make you crazy. So a lot of it is internal; each of us needs to do whatever we need to do to handle the stress. (Pat, second focus group interview)

> Stress in itself is not a bad thing. You can't eliminate the external causes in the practicum. I think it is more important rather than focusing on the external causes of stress to develop internal means of dealing with it. I don't think this year in any course we have gotten to that. (Kumari, second focus group interview)

Student Teachers' Recommendations

In addition to implementing coping strategies, student teachers reflected on and discussed changes that education faculties could make to reduce stress in the teaching practicum. Their recommendations focused on evaluation, assignments, and the length of the practicum.

Evaluation. Although acknowledging that they could neither control nor change the manner in which they were evaluated, student teachers made suggestions during the second focus group interview designed to reduce evaluation stresses. Among the recommendations were moving to a pass/fail evaluation system and reducing inconsistencies in the evaluation system:

> I think the stress will be alleviated once the marks are gone from the evaluation sheets. Because then you don't have anything to compare—are you going to compare comments? (Mary, second focus group interview)

Assignments. During the second focus group interview and in their journals, student teachers suggested that faculty reduce the number of assignments and integrate courses to make assignments more relevant to their practical experience.

Length of the practicum. Student teachers suggested that their stress levels could be reduced by extending the amount of time spent in one practicum. They suggested that spending more time in individual placements is more valuable than having a wide range of experiences. The student teachers who chose to spend two placements with the same teacher or more than one placement in the same school reported in their journals and in the second focus group interview that the extended time period reduced stress:

> When I first began this program I thought it would be a good experience to go to four different schools for each of the practicums. As it turned out, I went to two different schools with three practicums in the same school. I found this advantageous for myself as a student teacher because I feel that much stress has been relieved. I know where everything is in the school so I am very independent. I really feel like I'm a part of a team. You don't waste your first week learning new names, new routines, and new curriculum. (Carolyn, journal)

> I was in a classroom for two sessions, and I really liked that because I got to know the children. By the end of the second session, I felt like I was really starting to see where the children were going. And in two weeks, especially the first two weeks of practicum, I mean I didn't have a clue. I was just in there trying to keep my head above water. (Pat, second focus group interview)

Discussion and Implications

The findings from this study indicate that student teachers find their experiences during the teaching practicum full of inconsistencies: associate teachers evaluate student teachers inconsistently, expectations of student teachers vary from associate teacher to associate teacher, the quality and quantity of feedback received varies, associate teachers differ in the amount of time they are willing to spend with student teachers, and so forth. These inconsistencies leave student teachers feeling stressed and vulnerable.

The causes of stress vary, and there is often overlap between and among the categories of stress identified by student teachers. Coping strategies are somewhat limited, vary from situation to situation, and seem to depend on the personalities of the student teacher and the associate teacher. It is interesting to note that what is sometimes identified by student teachers as a cause of stress (feeling the need to conform to associate teachers' teaching methods, for example) is in some cases also identified as a strategy for coping with stress. Moreover, some coping categories, such as conformity, are directly in opposition to others, for instance, taking initiative. This suggests that student teachers may use one coping strategy with one associate teacher and a diametrically opposed coping strategy with another associate teacher. Student teachers reported that they played the game to improve their grades. "I think that's the key, I have to do whatever I can do to make it work" (Mary, second focus group interview). The student teacher who is enthusiastic, likes children, and can control the classroom is the one student teachers feel will receive the top evaluation and be in the best position to secure a teaching position:

> I got some good advice this year when a friend said, "Don't worry so much about what you do during the practicum; worry more about your relationship with the associate teacher." I found by going in with your prime direction to help the associate teacher and to be friendly, boy it makes a big difference. They [associate teachers] don't care what you do it seems. As long as you seem energetic and enthusiastic and like the children, things will be OK. (Cathy, second focus group interview)

The findings of this study have several implications for teacher education. First, faculties of education should review their current evaluation systems for consistency. In so doing, they should consider implementing pass/fail systems as a means of reducing inconsistencies in the evaluation process and making

the teacher education year less stressful, more meaningful, and more productive.

Second, faculties of education should reduce the total number of practica in the teacher education year and increase the length of individual practica; for example, instead of four two-week practica, student teachers might have two four-week practica. The student teachers in this study felt that redistributing their practicum time would make their year both less stressful and more meaningful. It has also been suggested that such redistribution would enable student teachers to become more adept at handling management and organizational problems in the classroom, give them more opportunities to clarify role expectations, and reduce evaluation-related stress by giving student teachers more time to respond to associate teachers' feedback (Housego 1987; Zeichner 1990).

Third, faculties of education should consider reducing the number of assignments student teachers must complete during their practicum. This change would allow student teachers to concentrate on *their* students' needs, on the demands of their associate teacher, and on the development of their teaching skills. It is also strongly recommended that assignments be more relevant and better related to the teaching practicum (Martin, 1990).

Fourth, faculties of education should advise student teachers of the need for proactive, assertive communication with associate teachers: communicating personal goals for the practicum, clarifying expectations, and taking initiative about setting meetings and discussion times. Faculty members can further assist student teachers by telling them as much as possible about the protocol associated with being a student teacher. For example, student teachers appreciate being advised to bring their own coffee mug, pay for their coffee, offer to do yard duty, write thank-you notes, and so forth.

Finally, the findings of this study suggest that there is a need for comprehensive change in the teacher education program. Student teachers feel that the *external* stresses of the teaching practicum will always be present and that controlling *internal* stresses is the key. This and other findings point to the need to explore alternative models for the teaching practicum. Such alternative approaches to teacher education have been supported by Fullan and Connelly (1987), Goodman (1988), and Boydell (1986).

Although the small sample size in this study does not permit definitive conclusions, the issues that emerged from this study support change in the teaching practicum and suggest areas for further research and exploration. The findings suggest the depth and seriousness of student teachers' concerns, and they describe the coping strategies student teachers are currently using. The research helps teacher educators better understand student teachers' experience of the practicum and move toward making positive change in this experience.

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A School-based Teacher Education Program: Perceptions and Attitudes

The purpose of this study was to assess the attitudes and perceptions of student teachers and teachers toward a school-based teacher education program. Rogers' (1983) five characteristics and 11 dimensions of an innovation provided the theoretical rationale. Students and teachers reported positive attitudes toward the program. For students the convenience of being in one school was important. For teachers the social prestige of being involved in the first year of implementation of this innovative program was significant.

Le but de cette étude était d'évaluer les attitudes et les perceptions des stagiaires et des enseignant(e)s envers un programme de formation d'enseignant(e)s ayant surtout lieu dans les écoles. La rationale théorique utilisée pour orienter cette recherche était basée sur les cinq caractéristiques et les onze dimensions d'une innovation de Rogers (1983). Pour les stagiaires, l'importance de demeurer dans une seule école était important tandis que pour les enseignant(e)s, le prestige social d'avoir participé à la première année de l'implantation de ce programme innovatif leurs était significatif.

In recent years there has been an unrelenting call for reform in teacher education. Studies outside of Canada have focused on the need for more relevant coursework, longer and better structured practica, better prepared associate (cooperating) teachers, improved linkage of theory and practice, and more opportunities for student teachers to reflect on their image of self as teacher and their own practice (Kagen, 1992; Schön, 1987; Theis-Sprinthall, 1986; Zeichner, 1983).

In Canada similar problems with teacher education programs have been cited in the literature (Allen, 1976; Awender & Harte, 1986; Cole & McNay, 1989; Fullan & Connelly, 1987; Russell, Munby, Spafford, & Johnson, 1988; Tardif, 1985; Wideen & Holborn, 1986a; 1986b). Studies in which teacher education programs have been evaluated provide support for this criticism. Miklos and Greene (1987) surveyed 515 graduates in teacher education programs at Edmonton, Calgary, and Lethbridge. The graduates were mildly dissatisfied with their programs, citing lack of emphasis on teaching skills, too much emphasis on theory, redundancy, inadequate practicum, and poor teaching models as concerns. These researchers concluded that from the perspective of teachers, the preservice programs made only a limited contribution to the development of skills that are essential for effective performance in the classroom. Similar results were found by Cook (1990) who surveyed 276 graduates of the teacher education program offered at the University of Ottawa. Respondents reported the need for more time in classrooms, practical information,

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case studies, up-to-date course content, longer practica, and university-school collaboration.

Despite the overall low rating of teacher education programs (with a particularly poor evaluation of the coursework as irrelevant) the practicum is usually cited as one of the highlights (Awender & Harte, 1986; Miklos & Greene, 1987; Tardif, 1985, Wideen & Holborn, 1986b). But even the practicum is fraught with problems: lack of integration of theory and practice, poorly prepared associate teachers, and lack of clear role definitions. These deficiencies seem to undermine the effectiveness of even the school-based portions of teacher education (Applegate & Lasley, 1982; Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1986; Fullan & Connelly, 1987; Miklos & Greene, 1987; Theis-Sprinthall, 1986; Wideen & Holborn, 1986b). Moreover, the practicum is viewed as an experience where student teachers merely model their behaviors after those of the associate teacher to earn a good evaluation. Any thought of innovation and creativity on the part of student teachers is subjugated (Awender & Harte; 1986; Fullan & Connelly, 1987). Tardif (1985) asserts that due to the problems of the practicum in its present form, it does not represent the realities of teachers who have sole responsibility for classes from day one of the school year.

The problems of preservice programs have been summarized as the failure to link theory and practice (Allen, 1976; Cole & McNay, 1989; Wideen & Holborn, 1986b). Often student teachers regard theory as the university coursework (Jacknicke & Samiroden, 1991) and practice as the practice teaching experiences. They are arranged in a two-step process of (a) doing the coursework (involving concrete and abstract theory) and (b) putting the theory into practice during practice teaching sessions (Russell et al., 1988). However, the two-step process rarely results in situations where research-based knowledge informs the student teacher's decision making and classroom practices. Furthermore, the stakeholders attribute different values to theory and practice. Faculty are more likely to search for abstract, generalizable knowledge, whereas teachers "are likely to be more pragmatic, and justifiably pessimistic about the value of research in education" (Allen, 1976, p. 44). Therefore, it is likely that practice teaching will occur in an environment where theory is viewed as irrelevant and insignificant.

Current practices in traditional teacher education do little to promote the linking of theory and practice. Professors teach theory at the university and periodically interrupt their courses so that student teachers may do a stint of practice teaching. A representative of the university may or may not view the "orphaned" student teachers perform the role of teacher. Moreover, all too often faculty members do not engage the students and/or associate teachers in the type of dialogue that would permit the integration of theory and practice. This approach results in an insufficient practicum arrangement and an artificial separation of theory and practice (Kagen, 1992; Jacknicke & Samiroden, 1991).

A strong recommendation for restructuring teacher education is made by Fullan and Connelly (1987). Wideen and Holborn (1986a) propose that the theoretical components should be made more practical. Others suggest that teacher education programs should include a harmonious mix of university input and field experience; that theory and practice need to be interwoven (Fullan & Connelly, 1987; Jacknicke & Samiroden, 1991; Wideen & Holborn,

1986a). Salzillo and VanFleet (1977) suggest a means for students to extend their field experience and to study the sociology of schools. They propose that student teachers become participant-observers in classrooms. In a study by Chamberlin and Vallance (1991) this type of approach to teacher education was implemented. At the University of Alberta 68 student teachers spent a half-day per week in classrooms in lieu of methods courses. The researchers report that the ongoing classroom experience afforded student teachers the opportunity to relate theory to specific settings that made the ideas more meaningful.

Kagen (1992) goes further when she states that the "primary goal of preservice programs should be providing procedural knowledge to novices and promoting acquisition of standard-routines that integrate management and instruction. Procedural routines seem to be the sine qua non of classroom teaching" (p. 162). The practicalities of running a classroom are indeed important and may well be best learned in a school setting. However, Miklos and Greene (1987) report that universities make a worthwhile contribution to preservice teacher education in the areas of child development, learning styles, ethical standards, and legal aspects of teaching.

Therefore, theory and practice both have a place in teacher education, and neither element has absolute priority (Allen, 1976; Fullan & Connelly, 1987). The problem is how to structure a teacher education program that permits students (a) to gain sufficient theory, (b) to develop skills in classroom management, and (c) to integrate theory and practice. Fullan and Connelly (1987) propose that teacher education might include alternate programs in which schools surrounding the university could work in partnership with the faculty of education to deliver a program where theory and practice are interwoven. At the University of Ottawa an alternate primary/junior program has been developed, which involves faculty and classroom teachers in local boards of education in a school-based approach to teacher education (MacDonald, McKinnon, Joyce, & Gurney, 1992).

On-site Teacher Education Program

The three unique features of the on-site teacher education program are (a) the partnership with the local boards, (b) the school-based preservice education, and (c) the inclusion of student teachers in classroom activities beginning the first day of school. Teachers from the four local boards of education are selected by administrators to work with student teachers. The boards contribute meeting facilities and computer labs free of charge to participants in the program. The University seconds staff members from the boards to work with the students and advisors. Consultants with the boards are occasionally asked to give presentations to the on-site student teachers on topics such as evaluating pupil progress. A committee of representatives from the four boards, the Ontario Teachers' Federation, the Ontario Ministry of Education, and the Faculty oversees the operation of the on-site program.

Students in the on-site program spend most of their one year of preservice education in classrooms, beginning the first day of school. Student teachers spend four months in a primary classroom and an equal amount of time in a junior division classroom. The students are usually placed in the same school throughout the year and are encouraged to visit other classrooms as much as possible to observe specific techniques and programs. In each classroom stu-

dent teachers observe their advisor and the pupils. They learn the classroom routines and work with individuals and small groups. Gradually, the student teachers assume most of the advisor's classroom duties. Formal practice teaching sessions are also conducted in the advisor's classroom. Throughout the academic year theoretical aspects of the program are presented in large-group survey sessions. Students are expected to implement the theoretical constructs and practical strategies in the classrooms to which they have been assigned. Foundations of education such as psychology, sociology, and philosophy are explored through readings, discussions, and seminars. The students are grouped according to the board in which they are assigned. In the small groups (approximately 10 student teachers and a board-appointed counselor) the students learn observational techniques, discuss observations, relate practice to theory, and develop their own knowledge about teaching. These seminar groups meet weekly.

The primary purpose of this study was to evaluate the attitudes of student teachers and advisors toward the on-site teacher education program in its first year of operation. Strengths and weaknesses of this school-based program were also examined. The second objective was to determine the extent to which perceptions of the on-site program predicted attitudes toward this innovation. The theoretical framework on which this portion of the study is based is Rogers' (1983) five characteristics and 11 dimensions of an innovation.

Theoretical Framework

The role of the perceptual process in attitude formation toward innovation is emphasized by Sherif and Cantril (1945). Perception, they report, is always involved because attitudes are derived from experience rather than being innate. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) related perceptions to attitude formation and the decision to accept or reject an innovation in their model of the innovation decision process. They identify five perceived characteristics of an innovation that are important in this process: the relative advantage of the innovation, the compatibility of the innovation with current practices and values, the complexity of the innovation and the difficulty of implementing it, the possibility of attempting a trial run without committing oneself totally to the innovation, and the observability and visibility of the innovation.

Rogers (1983) revised the model of the attributes of an innovation that influence a person's behavior in the innovation decision process. In the updating, the five perceived characteristics of an innovation are more precisely defined by the incorporation of 11 dimensions that provides a clearer description of the characteristics than the earlier version.

In the revised model, relative advantage of an innovation is composed of four dimensions: economy of effort and use of resources, social prestige accruing to the implementor, convenience, and satisfaction. Compatibility of an innovation refers to the degree to which the innovation is perceived as being consistent with the existing value system, with the teachers' previous experience, and with the needs of the teacher and students. Complexity has two dimensions: the innovation viewed as easy or difficult to perform, and easy or difficult to understand. The remaining characteristics are each composed of one dimension. Trialability is the extent to which any innovation may be tried

gradually; observability is the extent to which an innovation is visible to others (Rogers, 1983, pp. 213-232).

Research Methodology

Sample

The total sample included 28 student teachers and 28 teacher advisors from the 15 schools involved in the on-site teacher education program.

Instrument

The instrument for this study was a three-part questionnaire with similar forms for student teachers and teacher advisors. The first section of the form for students contained four items that elicited demographic information. Part Two consisted of 33 items measuring the student teachers' perceptions of the on-site program. The items in this section were adapted from an instrument used by Duquette and O'Reilly (1988) that reflected Rogers' (1983) perceptions of characteristics of an innovation. The wording of the items was revised to relate to the implementation of the on-site program. The response format was a 5-point Likert scale, with 5 being "strongly agree." In the third part were four items measuring attitude and three open-ended questions. All items in the student teachers' form were field-tested to establish content and construct validity.

The form for the teacher advisors was similarly divided into three parts. The first section consisted of nine items designed to elicit demographic information. The second part contained 33 items measuring Rogers' (1983) perceptions of characteristics of an innovation. This form was also based on an instrument used by Duquette and O'Reilly (1988), and the wording was altered to reflect the nature of the on-site program. The response format was a 5-point Likert scale, with 5 being "strongly agree." The third section had four items in that measured attitudes toward the on-site program and three open-ended questions. The advisor form of the questionnaire was field-tested to establish content and construct validity.

The reliability coefficient for the 33 items in Part Two was .59. This coefficient is not surprising given the few items measuring each dimension (3) and the number of respondents (40).

Data Collection

Data were collected during the last three weeks of April and the first week of May of the academic year in which this alternate program was implemented. Packets containing instructions, the questionnaire, and a stamped self-addressed envelope were mailed to students and advisors at the 15 schools. Although most questionnaires were returned within two weeks, participants were reminded to complete and return forms at two separate large-group functions. The last questionnaire was received by the researcher within four weeks of the distribution date.

Results

Sample

The respondents consisted of 21 student teachers and 19 on-site advisors. These statistics represent a 75% return for students and a 68% return for advisors. Two thirds of the student teachers were between 26 and 35 years of age, and one student was over 35 years. All student teachers were university graduates;

Table 1
Teacher Responses (n = 19)

		Frequency Table 1	2	3	4	5	NIL
Past Experience							
#9	Experience working in a mentor relationship over an extended period of time	1	8	8	2	0	0
#23	Previous work with a student teacher	2	2	9	5	1	0
#28	Feeling comfortable working with a student teacher	0	0	1	11	7	0
Needs							
#10	Enhances feelings of professional worth	0	3	3	7	6	0
#17	Opportunities for professional growth	0	1	3	7	8	0
#27	Meets need for stucture and routine	6	9	3	1	0	0
Trialability							
#1	Involvement of student teacher on a gradual basis	0	0	0	9	10	0
#21	Option exists to terminate participation	0	0	2	8	9	0
#31	Opportunities to experiment with a variety of strategies and materials	0	0	2	5	12	0
Social Prestige							
#2	Principals have high regard for participants	0	5	9	2	2	1
#20	Peers have high regard for participants	0	7	10	0	1	1
#29	Professors have high regard for participants	0	2	13	3	1	0
Convenience							
#3	Make changes in teaching approaches and materials	2	5	3	7	2	0
#14	Convenient to work with a student over a longer period of time	0	0	1	5	13	0
#24	Able to adapt classroom practices to accommodate requirements of program	0	0	4	13	2	0
Economic							
#7	Advisors are well compensated	0	4	9	4	2	0
#12	Spend time counselling students and completing forms	2	1	3	7	6	0
#22	Long-term savings to board because on-site students are better prepared in their first year of teaching	0	1	9	7	2	0
Existing Values							
#4	Compatibility of on-site program with Ministry goal to improve teacher education	0	0	0	11	8	0
#11	Compatibility of on-site program with professional beliefs about preservice education	5	7	5	0	1	1
#13	Compatibility of on-site program with personal beliefs about preservice education	0	1	2	8	8	0
Difficult to Understand							
#5	Roles of participants are understood	1	11	3	4	0	0

Table 1 (continued)

		Frequency Table 1	2	3	4	5	NIL
#16	Know how to evaluate student teacher assignments	1	8	4	6	0	0
#32	Knowledge of selection procedures	5	7	0	3	4	0
Difficult to Do							
#25	Administrative requirements of this program are difficult to manage	4	6	8	0	1	0
#26	Harmonious relationship with student	0	2	3	12	2	0
#30	There is time to discuss progress with student	1	3	1	9	5	0
Observability							
#6	Professors notice an improvement in the quality of student teaching	0	0	11	2	4	2
#15	Advisors see an improvement in the quality of student teaching	0	0	2	9	8	0
#33	Principals see an improvement in the quality of student teaching	0	0	12	3	4	0
Satisfaction							
#8	Satisfaction with the amount of practical experience	2	0	3	6	8	0
#18	Satisfaction with the amount of theory	1	4	12	1	1	0
#19	Satisfaction with the rate of progress of students toward becoming effective teachers	0	0	2	5	12	0

Table 2
Student responses (n = 21)

		Frequency Table 1	2	3	4	5	NIL
Past Experience							
#9	Experience working in a mentor relationship over an extended period of time	0	2	3	6	10	0
#23	Previous work with a teacher in a classroom experience	1	2	7	8	3	0
#28	Feeling comfortable working with an advisor	0	1	3	8	8	1
Needs							
#10	Enhances feelings of professional worth	0	1	6	3	10	1
#17	Opportunities for professional growth	0	1	6	6	7	1
#27	Meets need for opportunities to learn classroom management skills	0	0	3	3	14	1
Trialability							
#1	Involvement on a gradual basis	0	0	0	10	11	0
#21	Option exists to terminate participation	0	4	4	8	3	2
#31	Opportunities as experiment with a variety of strategies and materials	0	3	0	7	11	0

Table 2 (continued)

		Frequency Table					
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*NIL*
Social Prestige							
#2	Principals have high regard for participants	2	1	7	6	2	3
#20	Peers have high regard for participants	0	2	15	2	0	0
#29	Professors have high regard for participants	0	1	14	2	1	3
Convenience							
#3	Easy to see a variety of teaching strategies, materials, and classroom management techniques	0	1	4	4	12	0
#14	Convenient to work with one advisor over an extended period of time	1	0	1	1	18	0
#24	Easy to apply theoretical knowledge to practice	0	1	7	8	3	2
Economic							
#7	Spend time on course assignments	3	3	12	1	1	1
#12	Spend time preparing classroom materials and lessons	0	1	5	6	8	1
#22	Long-term savings to boards because on-site students are better prepared in their first year of teaching	0	0	6	5	9	1
Existing Values							
#4	Compatibility of the on-site program with Ministry goal to improve teacher education	0	0	8	7	6	0
#11	Compatibility of the on-site program with professional beliefs about preservice education	9	4	6	1	0	1
#13	Compatibility of the on-site program with personal beliefs about preservice education	0	0	0	4	17	0
Difficult to Understand							
#5	Roles of participants are understood	1	7	3	7	3	0
#16	Know how the assignments will be evaluated	3	10	3	3	5	0
#32	Knowledge of selection procedures	1	3	1	10	6	0
Difficult to Do							
#25	Coursework requirements are difficult to manage	3	6	7	3	1	1
#26	Harmonious working relationship with advisor	1	2	1	15	2	0
#30	There is time to discuss progress with advisors	1	2	0	13	5	0
Observability							
#6	Professors notice an improvement in the quality of student teaching	0	0	13	4	1	3
#15	Advisors see an improvement in the quality of student teaching	3	7	7	2	0	2
#33	Principals see an improvement in the quality of student teaching	0	0	12	6	1	2

Table 2 (continued

		Frequency Table 1	2	3	4	5	NIL
Satisfaction							
#8	Satisfaction with the amount of practical experience	0	0	4	2	14	1
#18	Satisfaction with the amount of theory	5	4	6	2	3	1
#19	Satisfaction with their rate of progress toward becoming an effective teacher	0	1	6	4	8	2

Table 3
T-test Results of Significant Dimensions for On-site Advisors and Student Teachers

Dimension	*Advisor* Mean	s.d	*Student* Mean	s.d.	*"t"*	*Prob.*
Past Experience	9.94	1.75	11.85	1.84	3.30	.002
Needs	9.95	1.31	12.60	2.26	4.51	.0001
Trialability	13.42	1.26	12.26	1.85	–2.25	.03

Table 4
T-test Results of Significant Dimensions for On-site Advisors

Dimension	*Bachelor's* Mean	s.d	*Master's* Mean	s.d.	*"t"*	*Prob.*
Social Prestige	8.55	0.82	9.83	1.60	–2.22	.042

Table 5
T-test Results of Significant Dimensions for Student Teachers

Dimension	*Previous Experience in Schools*		*No Previous Experience in Schools*		*"t"*	*Prob.*
Convenience	11.83	2.17	14.00	0.82	3.11	.007

most had earned an honors degree (71.4%), and one student had a master's degree. Fourteen respondents indicated that they had previously worked or volunteered in schools.

Twelve of the 19 advisors were between 36 and 45 years of age. Only two advisors indicated being under 35 years. All but one teacher had earned at least one degree, 12 at the bachelor's level and six at the master's level. All the advisors reported having previously supervised student teachers. Twelve of the advisors indicated that they had between one and five years experience supervising and evaluating student teachers. The remaining seven teachers had at least six years experience with student teachers. All but one advisor had previously worked with students from the University of Ottawa.

Attitudes Toward the On-site Program

For this occasion all on-site advisors and student teachers indicated that they had a positive attitude toward the on-site teacher education program. Only one of 19 advisors reported a lack of willingness to participate again in this type of teacher education program. These results would therefore indicate strong positive attitudes toward the on-site teacher education program.

Perceptions of the On-site Teacher Education Program

The data were to be analyzed using stepwise multiple regression techniques to determine which dimensions of perceived characteristics of an innovation were the strongest predictors of attitude. However, because there was an unforeseen homogeneity of responses to items measuring the dependent variable (that is, 100% of respondents reported a positive attitude), the multiple regression analyses could not be performed.

T-tests were done and frequency tables were produced for teachers and students. A t-test was done to show differences between on-site advisors and student teachers (see Table 3). There were significant differences between the two groups for the dimensions of past experience, needs, and trialability. For students the dimensions of past experience and needs were most important. Sixteen of 21 students indicated that they perceived that students had successfully worked in a mentor relationship prior to enrollment in the faculty. Interestingly, only 14 of 21 students reported previous experience in schools.

For the dimension of needs, it appears that students perceived that they must learn teaching and classroom management skills. Seventeen students indicated that the on-site program provided them with opportunities to do so (see Table 2, item #27).

The dimension of trialability was significant for advisors. As shown in Table 1 (item #21) an important difference between teachers and students was that teachers perceived that if things did not go well with the student teacher the placement would be terminated.

T-tests were also done to determine differences in the two groups of respondents. There was a significant difference between advisors holding a master's degree and those with a bachelor's degree, at $\alpha = 0.05$ level of significance for the dimension of social prestige (see Table 4). Prestige was significantly more important to those teachers holding the higher level academic qualifications.

There was also a significant difference in the group of student teachers (see Table 5). For the dimension of convenience there was a significant difference

between students who had previous work experience in elementary or secondary schools. This dimension was significantly more important to those students with no previous experience working in schools. The results of t-tests would therefore indicate that there were significant differences between and in the two groups of respondents.

Discussion and Summary

Results of this study in attitudes and perceptions of the On-site teacher education program showed that advisors and students had positive attitudes toward the innovation. All student teachers stated that they would recommend this type of teacher education program to other students. Most students reported that the strength of the on-site program was its practical focus. Students wrote the following comments:

> It provided me the opportunity to have a more intense hands-on experience. I feel I learn best from experiences, especially where I have an opportunity to apply theory in a practical situation, then have an opportunity to reflect and discuss those experiences. I find I was afforded many more insights from this type of program. Those aspects are very important to me.

> Direct classroom involvement, over the long term, in partnership with an excellent teaching model provided me with more knowledge and skills than I ever could have acquired through books and lectures.

> The on-site program helped me to get a more realistic perspective on how schools are operated, especially what is expected from teachers on a day-to-day basis. I was able to get to know the kids over an extended period of time and vice versa. The staff treated us as real members of the school staff.

Most advisors also reported feeling very positive about the on-site program. One teacher wrote: "It was a growth experience for me. The students benefitted from having another person in the room. I had an exceptional student teacher and we made a great team." However, one advisor did not have a positive experience and indicated an unwillingness to participate in the future. The teacher wrote the following:

> I had a very weak student teacher. I worked 1.5 hours each day over and above the regular school day to aid the student teacher. It was a big mistake for the student to have been selected for this program.

Further analysis revealed which dimensions of perceived characteristics of the on-site teacher education program were most important to teacher advisors and student teachers. For teachers with master's degrees the dimension of social prestige was significantly important. Means of items measuring this dimension showed that advisors viewed participation in the program as offering little status vis-à-vis principals, colleagues, and professors. However, it is possible that status accrued at the school level through involvement in this program was not as important as visibility among superintendents who might be instrumental in the career advancement of these teachers. It is also possible that teachers with master's degrees view working with student teachers as part of their role as professionals. As well this group may also enjoy being involved in innovative projects.

The dimension of need was significantly important for those students under 26 years old than for other age groups. A smaller proportion of students in this age group than the other age groups had previous classroom experience. It is therefore likely that these students in particular felt that the on-site teacher education program provided them with opportunities to improve teaching classroom management skills that they may have lacked because of less classroom experience. Therefore, it is possible that the on-site program is particularly well suited to student teachers with little previous classroom experience.

For on-site advisors holding master's degrees the dimension of trialability was of significant importance. Advisors strongly indicated that they involved the students on a gradual basis and regarded this program as one that provided students with many opportunities to experiment with teaching strategies and materials. Student teachers also reported gradual involvement and most indicated opportunities to experiment. However, seven students reported that they did not have an adequate opportunity to develop their own teaching style.

One student teacher made the following comment:

> I had what I can best describe as a philosophical difference with my advisor. As a result, we had different approaches/styles of teaching. I do not feel it was a situation in which I was able to teach to my ability level, but it wasn't my classroom.

A similar finding is reported by MacDonald et al. (1992) in their study of the on-site program.

Some on-site students complained about the lack of theoretical information they received. One student wrote, "At times, I would have liked more emphasis on the ways of handling such situations [behavioral problems] in our theoretical work." Moreover, eight students indicated that it was not always possible to apply theoretical knowledge to the classroom situation.

Students also expressed concerns about their relationship with the advisors. This result was also reported by MacDonald et al. (1992). Students in this study wrote the following comments:

> personality conflicts

> During the first two-week practice teaching session, my on-site advisor found it difficult to change her role to evaluator; she treated me quite differently. It was difficult for her.

> I had some difficulty working with an associate teacher [advisor] who had a personal family crisis.

> Some on-site advisors have had problems giving up control of their classroom—territorial.

Another concern was that roles were poorly defined. One student reported that the second associate [advisor] was not aware or informed of her role and expectations of her. Another student teacher commented that "Initially, roles of associates [advisors] and student teachers were vague—expectations were not stated clearly enough for everyone." Similar findings about role ambiguity among associate teachers had also been reported by Applegate and Lasley (1982).

Interestingly, although some students expressed concerns about their relationship with their advisor, no advisors reported their relationship with their student teacher as problematic. In fact some teachers saw their relationship with their student as a strength of the program. One teacher wrote, "She became my partner, a real colleague with whom to share day-to-day problems, joys of teaching." Another advisor reported, "I had a hard-working, dedicated, energetic junior partner. We put a lot of time and effort into an open and honest line of communication."

The most important concern expressed by advisors was the lack of time for conferencing with their student teacher. One teacher wrote, "Finding time to discuss objectives, strategies, evaluation, etc. It always seemed rushed." Another advisor stated, "Finding time to spend with student teacher to discuss concerns ... some time set aside to discuss concerns (not at 3:30)."

The comments made by both advisors and student teachers would suggest administrators of the on-site program should address the following issues:

1. Selection criteria for advisors and student teachers;
2. Training of advisors with respect to their role;
3. Advisors' need for time to conference with student teachers; and
4. Students' need for more theory.

One student went as far as to suggest that the selection procedures for students and advisors should include analysis of teaching style so as to match that of the advisor with that of the student. Advisors and students both suggested that the on-site teacher education program should begin during the last week of August to permit time for advisor and student to feel comfortable with one another before school began.

In sum, the on-site teacher education program is regarded positively by advisors and student teachers. It would appear that participants feel that this approach to teacher education represents a viable alternative to the traditional on-campus teacher education program. Students felt that this program met their needs for practical training; however, it seemed to fall short in terms of the theoretical underpinnings. Further research is required to determine how graduates of the on-campus program with a stronger emphasis on theory and those of on-site programs fare in their first year of teaching. However, the present positive attitudes on the part of participants provide clear testimony to the perceived effectiveness of the on-site teacher education program.

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Principals and Collaborative Curriculum Development: Does Gender Make a Difference?

The data reported in this article are drawn from a recent study of collaborative curriculum development at the school level. A stratified random sample of elementary school principals in Alberta, Canada, were asked to indicate on a questionnaire the extent of collaboration employed in their schools with respect to 18 curriculum development tasks. The findings show that the extent of collaboration is greater in schools with female principals than in schools with male principals. These findings hold true regardless of the principals' ages, length of experience as principals, and number of years in their present principalship. However, as noted in the discussion, the picture of gender differences may not be as clear cut as it seems.

On a tiré les données de recherche pour cet article d'une étude récente sur le développement collaboratif de curriculum au niveau de l'école. Un groupe de directeurs et de directrices d'écoles de l'Alberta au Canada sélectionné(e)s au hasard ont été demandé d'indiquer sur un questionnaire le niveau de collaboration présent dans leur école par rapport à 18 tâches de développement du curriculum. Les résultats démontrent qu'il y a plus de collaboration dans les écoles ayant des directrices que dans les écoles ayant des directeurs. Les trouvailles sont véridiques peu importe l'âge de la directrice ou du directeur, ou le nombre d'années d'expérience du directeur ou de la directrice, ou le nombre d'années comme directeur, directrice de l'école où ils (elles) sont présentement. Cependant, tel que noté dans la section discussion, les différences basées sur le genre ne sont pas aussi claires et nettes qu'on le croirait.

Recently I was engaged in a study of collaborative curriculum development at the school level. In the course of pilot testing the survey instrument, I met with a woman who was the principal of an elementary school. After she had completed the questionnaire and we had discussed her responses, she turned to leave. "I'll bet," she said, "that you'll find a difference between schools with male and female principals."

I was surprised because my thinking had not been running along those lines. I put her comment in the back of my mind and did not think of it again until I was in the process of analyzing the data. At that point, I realized her comment was prophetic. Gender did indeed make a difference, although the data include anomalies that are worthy of further research.

Background to the Study

The study was designed to identify the extent to which school staffs in the province of Alberta, Canada, approach curriculum development tasks in a collaborative manner.

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Collaboration is a current theme in several bodies of literature related to schools. Educators are recognizing that teaching is complex, that no one has all the answers, and that problems can more likely be solved when a school staff share their uncertainties, work together toward common goals, and offer ideas and assistance to each other (Rosenholtz, 1989). Thus we see that studies of school organization are focusing on the social, rather than the administrative, organization of schools (Griffin, 1987; Lieberman, 1986), and that research on school leadership is shifting from the hard (bureaucratic) to the soft (human) side of administrative practice (Sergiovanni, 1987). Implicit in this shift is the notion of empowerment that gives teachers and principals joint responsibility for such matters as curriculum development in their schools (Glickman, 1989) and encourages teachers to engage in participatory decision making (Estler, 1988).

Further support for collaborative endeavors comes from effective schools research reporting the importance of norms of collegiality and experimentation (Good & Brophy, 1986; Purkey & Smith, 1983). Wideen (1987) reports in this regard that the focus of staff development has changed from individual learning to learning in groups. In addition, Fullan (1991) relates collaboration to the process of change, writing that "Change involves learning to do something new, and interaction is the primary basis for social learning" (p. 77). Clearly a number of bodies of literature indicate that the traditional egg-crate mentality is out and collaboration is in.

Collaboration can be applied to many aspects of life in schools, but perhaps the most important one is curriculum development, for school staffs are charged with responsibility for translating the abstract goals developed at provincial or state levels into workable strategies for student learning. This is a complex task because, as Werner (1987) points out, the implementation of curriculum policy is open to interpretation. It is also a continuing task because reinterpretation will be necessary as conditions in the workplace change (Rosenholtz, 1989). The importance of this task is indicated by research showing the influence of curriculum decisions on student achievement (Bossert, 1988). However, little is known about the extent to which school staffs collaborate on curriculum matters. Nor do we know a great deal about the variables that are related to collaborative curriculum development.

One of these variables is the principal's gender. Is there any reason to believe that female and male principals differ with respect to an interest in curriculum tasks and a preference for staff members to work together on those tasks? The answer begins with motivations for entering teaching. Shakeshaft (1987), in her review of research related to women in educational administration, points out that "A number of studies support the notion that the motivation for entering teaching differs for men and women: Most women enter teaching to teach but most men enter teaching to administer" (p. 87). She refers to Meskin's career portrait that shows that to female teachers commitment to teaching is more important than career advancement. In fact, female teachers hesitate to enter principalships because they fear that a principalship will take them away from children. They are not buying into the male value system that says administration is more important than teaching.

Women who do enter principalships take with them their primary focus on teaching. Ortiz and Marshall (1988), in their review of research on women in educational administration, conclude that female administrators take a more active stance than their male counterparts toward instructional leadership. Shakeshaft (1987) concurs, citing evidence that female principals are more concerned than males about the academic achievement of students, are more knowledgeable about curriculum, and are more likely to spend time in classrooms and engage teachers in discussions about the academic content of the school. These findings are supported by research on principals' supervisory styles that indicates that female principals are more likely than males to comment on the content and quality of the educational program (Shakeshaft, Nowell, & Perry, 1991).

An interest in curriculum matters seems, then, to be a characteristic of female principals. But would female principals be more inclined than male principals to encourage collaboration on those tasks? Perhaps so, because women perceive the job of principal as that of a master teacher or educational leader, whereas men more often view the job from a managerial-industrial perspective. As a result, "Women are less committed to the formal hierarchy and are more willing to submerge displays of personal power in an effort to get others to participate in the decision-making process" (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 187). Ortiz and Marshall (1988) would agree. "Women," they write, "are more apt to develop lateral relationships and crossrelationships, whereas men look to their superiors" (p. 138).

Shakeshaft (1987) suggests that cooperative behavior begins for females in childhood. "These cooperative skills seem to be carried into the decision-making process when girls grow into women and become administrators" (p. 187). There is ample evidence that female principals are more democratic in their decision making style and use more cooperative planning strategies (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1987).

These studies suggest that gender may indeed prove to be an important variable related to collaborative curriculum development at the school level. Therefore, this article extracts from the study the data that explore this possibility.

The Design of the Study

The purpose of the study, as indicated earlier, was to take a snapshot of collaborative curriculum development as it is currently taking place in the elementary schools of Alberta. This purpose combines two important aspects of life in schools: *curriculum development* through which school staffs translate provincial goals into workable programs; and *collaboration*, which encourages teachers to work together to share concerns and solve problems. The focus on extent of collaboration is perceived as a starting point for eventual investigation of the quality of collaborative endeavors.

The study began with interviews conducted with a cross-section of educators in five school jurisdictions in Alberta. Each person was asked to describe examples of collaborative curriculum development at the school level. This information was then used to develop a questionnaire that was sent to a stratified random sample of elementary school principals across the province.

Thirty percent of the schools in each type of school jurisdiction—counties, divisions, public school districts, and separate school districts—were randomly selected. A total of 198 of the 245 principals (81%) returned usable questionnaires. The percentage of returns from each type of school jurisdiction was high, ranging from 74% to 84%, thus ensuring that the four types of jurisdiction were fairly represented in the study.

It should be noted that data collection was based on self-reporting by the school principals, so it was important to develop a questionnaire that would discourage principals from exaggerating the extent of collaboration occurring in their schools. With this in mind, several versions of the questionnaire were developed and pilot tested. Versions that dichotomized responses (collaboration or no collaboration) were rejected in favor of a questionnaire based on several degrees of collaboration, all of which are currently used in schools. Therefore, there was little reason for principals to exaggerate their responses.

The Questionnaire

Major attention is given in this article to the principals' identification of the extent of collaboration used in their schools for 18 curriculum development tasks. These tasks had been drawn from interviews with school and district personnel and from readings on curriculum development. The tasks were categorized during questionnaire construction into three subgroups, although the labels did not appear on the questionnaire. A brief description of the subgroups appears below.

Professional development tasks (items 1-6). These tasks provide a foundation for the work of a school staff. They include developing a sense of mission for the school as well as reflecting on the reality of teaching and expanding one's background knowledge of students, subjects, teaching strategies, and evaluation strategies.

Curriculum tasks (items 7-12). These tasks are concerned with the content of the school program (i.e., what will be taught). They include the relative emphasis to be placed on school subjects and the organization of those subjects. They also deal with the selection and sequencing of content in a subject, as well as the degree of emphasis to be placed on various aspects of the subject.

Instruction tasks (items 13-18). These tasks focus on helping children learn the specified content. They include adapting the curriculum, selecting specific teaching strategies and materials, developing units of study, and making long-range instructional plans.

For each curriculum development task, the principals were asked to identify on a Likert scale the way in which this task is currently handled in their schools. Each point on the scale represented a greater extent of collaboration. The choices were:

1. Staff members are not working on this task this year.
2. Individual teachers are working on this task by themselves.
3. Teachers are working on this task through informal contacts with each other.
4. Groups of teachers are working on this task in a formal structured manner.
5. The staff as a whole group is working on this task in a formal structured manner.

Table 1
Frequency Distribution of Female and Male Principals by Years of Age

Years of Age	Females (n = 45)	Males (n = 153)
30-39	5 (11.1%)	19 (12.4%)
40-49	32 (71.1%)	81 (53.0%)
50 or more	8 (17.8%)	53 (34.6%)

Table 2
Frequency Distribution of Female and Male Principals by Years in Present Principalship

Years in Present Principalship	Females (n = 45)	Males (n = 151)
1	16 (35.6%)	20 (13.2%)
2-5	22 (48.9%)	71 (47.0%)
6-10	6 (13.3%)	33 (21.9%)
11 or more	1 (2.2%)	27 (17.9%)

Table 3
Frequency Distribution of Female and Male Principals by Total Years of Experience as a School Principal

Years of Experience as a Principal	Females (n = 45)	Males (n = 151)
1-5	25 (55.6%)	37 (24.5%)
6-10	12 (26.7%)	35 (23.2%)
11-15	6 (13.3%)	35 (23.2%)
16-20	2 (4.4%)	23 (15.2%)
21 or more	0	21 (13.9%)

Description of the Principals

The study sample consisted of 45 female principals (22.7%) and 153 males (77.3%). Female principals were thus in the minority in this study, as they are in elementary schools.

As a group, the female principals differed in certain ways from their male counterparts. First, as shown in Table 1, the female principals were slightly younger than the male principals. Although about the same percentages of females and males were in their 30s, a higher percentage of females than males were in their 40s, whereas a higher percentage of males than females were 50 years old or more.

Second, the female principals were newer on the job. Table 2 shows that a higher percentage of females than males were in the first year of their current

principalships. About the same percentage of females and males had served as principals of their schools for two to five years, but the percentages of males who had been in their schools for six years or more was higher than for females. Table 3 presents data on the respondents' total number of years as school principals. Over half of the females had only one to five years of total experience as principals compared with one quarter of the males. Similar percentages of females and males had six to 10 years of total experience as principals, but fewer females than males had 11-20 years of experience, and no females had more than 20 years experience.

The impact of these differences on the responses of female and male principals to collaborative curriculum development are included in the following section.

Findings Related to Gender Differences

The data related to the independent variable of gender were extracted from the total study for this article. They are presented in order of the methodologies used, showing how the picture of gender with respect to collaborative curriculum development became more complex as analysis progressed.

Reliability of the Scale

Data analysis began by determining the reliability of the 18-item scale that was used to measure the extent of collaborative curriculum development. The reliability of the scale is reflected in Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .8026.

Frequencies of Responses

A frequency count of the principals' responses to the 18 curriculum development tasks provides an overview of the extent of collaboration in schools with female and male principals. The absolute number of responses as well as percentages appear in Table 4.

The data on the professional development tasks (items 1-6) are particularly interesting. As indicated earlier, these tasks are general in nature, providing a foundation for the work of a school. For all six tasks in this category, a higher percentage of school staffs with female principals worked as a whole group, demonstrating a collegiality that was not as apparent in schools headed by male principals. Task #1, developing a clear sense of mission for the school, is a primary example. Three-quarters of the school staffs headed by female principals worked on this task as a whole group, whereas only a little more than half of the staffs headed by male principals did so. Considering the importance of common goals (Cohen, 1983; Rosenholtz, 1989), this is a major finding.

Differences related to the extent of collaboration on curriculum tasks were not as pronounced. These tasks are concerned with what will be taught and how that content is organized. In schools with female principals as well as schools with male principals, there was a move away from the whole staff working together. Also, a higher percentage of curriculum tasks, compared with professional development and instruction tasks, were not being worked on during the year in which the survey took place.

However, female-male differences appeared again with the instruction tasks. These are tasks that focus on helping children learn the specified content. Looking at the six tasks as a subgroup, about one third of the female and male principals left these tasks to individual teachers. However, more male prin-

Table 4
Extent of Collaboration on Curriculum Development Tasks

Boldface: Female principals *Roman: Male principals*	*Not done this year*		*Individual teachers*		*Informal contacts*		*Structured groups*		*Whole staff*	
Tasks	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
1. Develop a clear sense of mission for our school.	**7** 25	**15.6** 16.4	**1** 2	**2.2** 1.3	**3** 26	**6.7** 17.1	**1** 16	**2.2** 10.5	**33** 83	**73.3** 54.6
2. Reflect on the reality of teaching (teachers' doubts, concerns, expectations).	**2** 17	**4.4** 11.3	**3** 17	**6.7** 11.3	**23** 63	**51.1** 41.7	**8** 26	**17.8** 17.2	**9** 28	**20.0** 18.5
3. Broaden our knowledge of students' problems and needs.	**1** 3	**2.3** 2.0	**1** 9	**2.3** 5.9	**16** 52	**36.4** 34.0	**12** 47	**27.3** 30.7	**14** 42	**31.8** 27.5
4. Develop greater understanding of the subjects we are teaching.	**1** 0	**2.3** 0.0	**8** 27	**18.2** 17.8	**5** 33	**11.4** 21.7	**16** 64	**36.4** 42.1	**14** 28	**31.8** 18.4
5. Acquire teaching strategies that can be used in all subject areas.	**0** 4	**0.0** 2.6	**9** 35	**20.0** 23.0	**11** 38	**24.4** 25.0	**8** 48	**17.8** 31.6	**17** 27	**37.8** 17.8
6. Increase our knowledge of ways to evaluate student progress.	**0** 8	**0.0** 5.2	**7** 27	**15.6** 17.6	**6** 43	**13.3** 28.1	**12** 33	**26.7** 21.6	**20** 42	**44.4** 27.5
7. Determine the degree of emphasis to be placed on each subject in the total program.	**12** 45	**28.6** 30.0	**8** 30	**19.0** 20.0	**9** 24	**21.4** 16.0	**5** 24	**11.9** 16.0	**8** 27	**19.0** 18.0
8. Select content to be taught in a particular subject.	**1** 16	**2.2** 10.6	**12** 53	**26.7** 35.1	**12** 34	**26.7** 22.5	**17** 38	**37.8** 25.2	**3** 10	**6.7** 6.6
9. Sequence the teaching of content in a particular subject from one grade to another.	**10** 20	**22.2** 13.1	**6** 20	**13.3** 13.1	**17** 41	**37.8** 26.8	**5** 44	**11.1** 28.8	**7** 28	**15.6** 18.3
10. Determine the degree of emphasis to be placed on various aspects of a particular subject.	**2** 17	**4.4** 11.2	**19** 55	**42.2** 36.2	**13** 45	**28.9** 29.6	**10** 26	**22.2** 17.1	**1** 9	**2.2** 5.9
11. Integrate subjects (or strands within a subject).	**1** 5	**2.2** 3.3	**14** 43	**31.1** 28.3	**12** 48	**26.7** 31.6	**14** 46	**31.1** 30.3	**4** 10	**8.9** 6.6
12. Organize content around school-wide themes.	**11** 38	**25.0** 25.3	**2** 17	**4.5** 11.3	**4** 19	**9.1** 12.7	**13** 36	**29.5** 24.0	**14** 40	**31.8** 26.7
13. Adapt the curriculum for our particular community and geographic area.	**10** 36	**22.7** 23.5	**10** 41	**22.7** 26.8	**11** 44	**25.0** 28.8	**8** 16	**18.2** 10.5	**5** 16	**11.4** 10.5
14. Select strategies for teaching a particular subject (separate or integrated).	**1** 8	**2.2** 5.3	**15** 58	**33.3** 38.2	**12** 47	**26.7** 30.9	**13** 35	**28.9** 23.0	**4** 4	**8.9** 2.6

Table 4 (continued)

Boldface: Female principals *Roman: Male principals*	*Not done this year*		*Individual teachers*		*Informal contacts*		*Structured groups*		*Whole staff*	
15. Develop units of study for classroom use.	**2** 13	**4.4** 8.6	**15** 48	**33.3** 31.6	**10** 45	**22.2** 29.6	**16** 40	**35.6** 26.3	**2** 6	**4.4** 3.9
16. Select or create instructional materials.	**0** 4	**0.0** 2.6	**14** 54	**31.1** 35.3	**11** 51	**24.4** 33.3	**19** 39	**42.2** 25.5	**1** 5	**2.2** 3.3
17. Adapt the curriculum for children with special needs.	**2** 2	**4.4** 1.3	**11** 49	**24.4** 32.0	**7** 42	**15.6** 27.5	**19** 42	**42.2** 27.5	**6** 18	**13.3** 11.8
18. Develop long-range instructional plans for the classroom level.	**0** 5	**0.0** 3.3	**19** 62	**42.2** 40.5	**4** 32	**8.9** 20.9	**6** 27	**13.3** 17.6	**16** 27	**35.6** 17.6

cipals than female relied on informal contacts among teachers, whereas more female principals than male used structured groups. It appears that even the tasks that one would usually associate with individual classrooms were perceived by female principals as worthy of collaboration. Task #18, developing long-range instructional plans, is worth noting in this regard. About 40% of both female and male principals left this task to individual teachers, but another 36% of the female principals involved the whole staff as a group, compared with only 18% of the male principals. In other words, female principals were more likely than males to perceive long-range planning as a school-wide concern rather than as a task for individual teachers.

One-Way Analysis of Variance: Gender Differences

One-way analysis of variance was then used to find out if the differences between schools headed by female and male principals that appear in Table 4 are statistically significant. As shown in Table 5, a significant difference is identified with respect to the extent of collaboration for the total group of 18 curriculum development tasks. However, when the 18 tasks are divided into the three subgroups, the picture becomes more complex. As shown in Tables 6 through 8, there are significant differences with respect to the professional development and instruction tasks, but not for the curriculum tasks. This is an unexpected finding that is the subject of discussion later in the article.

Table 5
One-Way Analysis of Variance for Female and Male Principals: Extent of Collaboration on All 18 Tasks

Source	*Degrees of Freedom*	*Sum of Squares*	*Mean Squares*	*F Ratio*	*F Probability*
Between groups	1	1.2627	1.2627	4.0988	.0443
Within groups	196	60.3823	.3081		
Total	197	61.6450			

Table 6
One-Way Analysis of Variance for Female and Male Principals: Extent of Collaboration on Professional Development Tasks

Source	*Degrees of Freedom*	*Sum of Squares*	*Mean Squares*	*F Ratio*	*F Probability*
Between groups	1	2.6170	2.6170	7.0276	.0087
Within groups	196	72.9878	.3724		
Total	197	75.6048			

Table 7
One-Way Analysis of Variance for Female and Male Principals: Extent of Collaboration on Curriculum Tasks

Source	*Degrees of Freedom*	*Sum of Squares*	*Mean Squares*	*F Ratio*	*F Probability*
Between groups	1	.1335	.1335	.2010	.6544
Within groups	196	130.1774	.6642		
Total	197	130.3109			

Table 8
One-Way Analysis of Variance for Female and Male Principals: Extent of Collaboration on Instruction Tasks

Source	*Degrees of Freedom*	*Sum of Squares*	*Mean Squares*	*F Ratio*	*F Probability*
Between groups	1	2.0131	2.0131	4.6220	.0328
Within groups	196	85.3679	.4356		
Total	197	87.3810			

One-Way Analysis of Variance: Related Variables

It is noted earlier that the female principals in this study were somewhat younger than the male principals and that they were generally newer on the job, having less experience in their current principalships and fewer total years of experience as principals. Is it possible, then, that the differences ascribed to gender are really a function of age and experience?

To begin to answer that question, one-way analysis of variance was applied for the total sample of principals to each of three independent variables: the principals' ages, the number of years in their present principalships, and their total years of experience as principals. The results show no statistically significant differences at the .05 level of probability. In other words, the extent of collaboration on the total group of 18 curriculum development tasks (and on the subgroups of professional development, curriculum, and instruction tasks)

is not related to differences in age, number of years in their present principalships, and total years of experience as principals.

Two-Way Analysis of Variance

However, it is possible that the interaction of gender with one of the three variables identified above is significant; that is, the independent variable of gender may not be operating alone. Therefore, two-way analysis of variance was applied to the data. This was a somewhat risky venture because, in some cases, cell sizes were small (as shown in Tables 1, 2, and 3) and it was sometimes necessary to combine cells in order to perform the analysis. Not a great deal of variance is explained by these statistics. Nevertheless, the results are interesting, particularly the patterns of means for female and male principals that are presented here in graph form. (Due to the expanding length of the article, the graphs are presented only for the extent of collaboration on the total group of 18 curriculum development tasks, not for each of the three subgroups of tasks. Also, for the sake of clarity, all figures have been rounded off to the nearest 10th.)

Two-way analysis of variance performed for gender by age shows no significant interaction between these two independent variables. However, the patterns of means for females and males in each age group, as shown in Figure 1, indicate that the extent of collaboration in schools with female principals increased with the principal's age, whereas the extent of collaboration in schools with male principals decreased with the principal's age. This suggests that the preponderance of older males in the study may account for the generally weak showing of male principals compared with their female counterparts. A curious finding, however, is that the younger male principals

Figure 1. Extent of collaboration on curriculum development tasks by principal's age.

were more likely to engage their school staffs in collaborative curriculum development than were the younger female principals. One wonders why this should be so. Perhaps, as Shakeshaft (1987) suggests, the female administrative style is becoming more generally acceptable due to its consistency with the characteristics of effective schools. The younger male principals may thus perceive a collaborative management style as the first step up the administrative ladder.

With respect to gender and years in present principalship, two-way analysis of variance shows no significant interaction between these two independent variables. Figure 2, however, reveals a common pattern for female and male principals. That is, principals, regardless of gender, who had served in their present principalships for two to five years were more likely to engage their staffs in collaborative curriculum development than were principals in their first year at their schools and principals who had been in their schools for six years or more. It is understandable that new principals may need time to feel their way into a new situation before engaging their staffs in collaborative endeavors. Somewhat puzzling, however, is the lower extent of collaboration in schools where principals had been employed for six years or more. This group may include a preponderance of older principals with a more traditional administrative style. In any case, however, female principals were more likely to use collaboration than were their male counterparts, regardless of the length of time they had been serving in their present principalships.

Two-way analysis of variance performed for gender by total years of experience as a school principal shows no significant interaction between these two independent variables, again supporting the conclusion that gender differen-

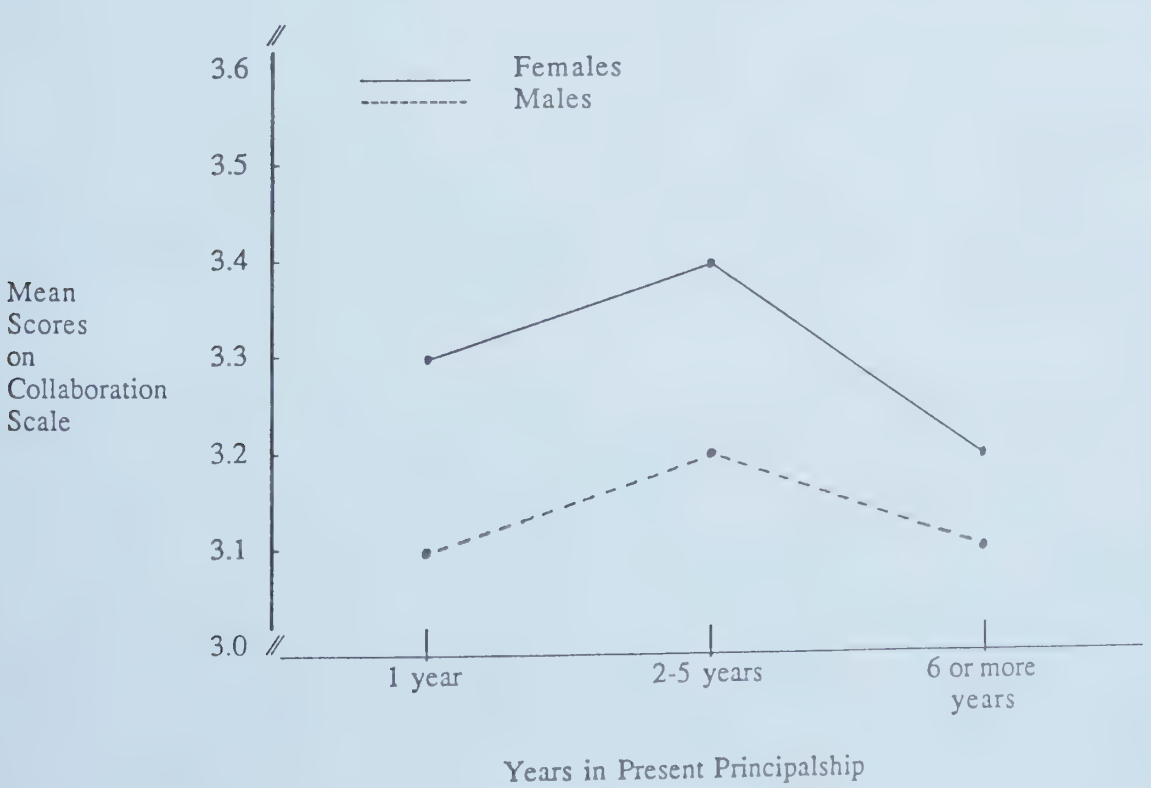

Figure 2. Extent of collaboration on curriculum development tasks by years in present principalship.

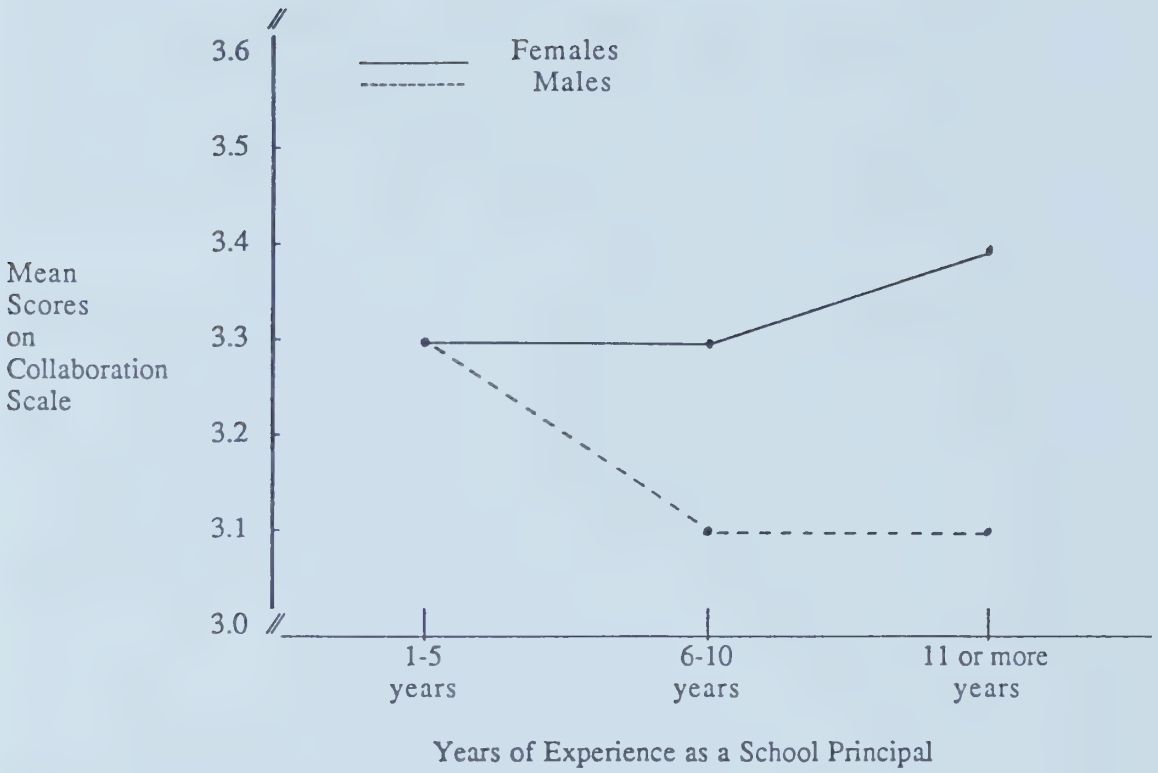

Figure 3. Extent of collaboration on curriculum development tasks by years of experience as a school principal.

ces are operating independently from the other variables. But, once more, the patterns of means are worthy of note. Figure 3 shows that female principals, regardless of the length of their experience as principals, were more likely to engage their staffs in collaborative curriculum development than were the male principals. This suggests that the affinity for collaboration on the part of female principals may be based on their administrative style, not on the accumulation of experience.

One might wish at this point for sufficient data to perform three-way analysis of variance to further identify interactions (or the lack of them) among variables. However, small—or empty—cells preclude that possibility with the data on hand.

Other Interesting Findings

The primary focus of the questionnaire was the total group of 18 curriculum development tasks. However, additional information was gathered with respect to the formal collaboration that takes place in small structured groups or as a whole staff working together (points 4 and 5 on the Likert scales). The principals were asked to indicate the extent to which: (a) various types of collaborative groups are used in their schools; (b) various factors encourage their staffs to work together on curriculum development tasks; (c) various sources introduce their staffs to new ideas about curriculum; and (d) various means are employed to provide time for collaborative work during the school day.

The response items were drawn from interviews with school and district personnel and from readings on curriculum development. For each item the

principal indicated extent by choosing one of the following points on a Likert scale: not at all, to a slight extent, to a moderate extent, and to a great extent. Analysis of variance revealed a number of significant differences between schools headed by female and male principals. These differences are reported here when the probability of their occurring by chance is .05 or less.

Types of collaborative groups. Grade level groups were the most common type of curriculum development group in schools headed by both female and male principals. However, female principals were more likely to use a variety of types of groups. In particular, female principals made significantly more use of division level groups and interest groups than did their male counterparts (although interest groups were used less frequently than other types of groups in any case). Also, in schools with female principals, it was significantly more likely that the whole staff would work together on curriculum development (particularly on the professional development tasks).

Factors that encourage collaborative curriculum development. Four factors are predominant across the study sample. Two are external to the school—the provincial Program of Studies and central office priorities and expectations. The other two are internal to the school—teachers' concerns and ideas and the principal's vision of what the school could be. The organization of staff, such as team teaching, and the results of provincial or district achievement tests are minor factors.

However, analysis of variance identifies two differences between schools with female principals and schools with male principals. First, the principal's vision of what a school could be was a significantly more important factor in schools headed by female principals. This may imply one of two things. Either female principals are more likely than male principals to have a vision of what a school could be, or they are more likely to allow their vision to guide their work in schools.

Second, as noted earlier, the organization of staff, such as team teaching, was a minor factor in the encouragement of collaborative curriculum development. However, when organization of staff was used, it was significantly more likely to be in schools headed by female principals. This suggests that female principals may view teachers' work in schools as a collaborative venture that includes not only curriculum development, but the ways in which teachers are organized to do their daily work.

Sources of new ideas about curriculum. No significant differences were found between schools with female principals and schools with male principals. For both groups the major source is district inservices, followed at some distance by resource people working directly with staff and by attendance of staff members at conferences. The other four sources were each used by fewer than 5% of schools headed by both female and male principals. These were participation of staff member(s) on provincial or district curriculum committees; visits by staff members to other schools; visits by staff members to other classrooms in their school; and talks to staff by publishing company representatives.

Provision of time for collaborative curriculum development. The principals were asked to what extent time was provided in various ways for staff members to work together on curriculum development tasks during the school day. Re-

sponses show that both female and male principals relied heavily on professional development days. However, female principals also explored other possibilities. They were significantly more likely to arrange for early dismissal of students and common prep time. They were also significantly more likely to substitute in a teacher's class so the teacher could meet with a colleague, although that option was not used a great deal in any case. Neither the female nor male principals employed substitute teachers to any great extent in order to free staff for collaborative ventures, probably due to financial constraints.

Viewpoints related to collaborative curriculum development. One additional section of the questionnaire is relevant here. In this section, the principals were asked to indicate their position on eight viewpoints that, according to the literature, underlie a collaborative approach to curriculum development. Both female and male principals reported viewpoints that were generally collaborative in orientation. However, one-way analysis of variance applied to the eight items as a group shows that female principals were significantly more likely to place themselves at the more collaborative end of the scale. When applied to individual items, one-way analysis of variance shows that female principals believed more strongly than males that "Teaching is primarily a collective endeavor, with teachers working together toward common purposes" and that "Student learning will improve when teachers are free to make curriculum decisions based on their knowledge of children." The probability of these differences occurring by chance is .01 or less.

Discussion

This study clearly points to gender as an important variable with respect to collaborative curriculum development. The data show that school staffs with female principals are more likely to work on curriculum development tasks in a collaborative manner than are school staffs with male principals. In this study this means they are more likely to work together as a whole staff or in small, structured groups than to rely on informal contacts or on individual teachers working by themselves. This major finding is consistent with the "female" management style described briefly in the introduction to the article.

However, one finding stands out simply because it is an exception to the rule. It is noted earlier in the article that schools with female principals were significantly more likely than schools with male principals to work collaboratively on the total group of 18 curriculum development tasks. However, when the 18 tasks were divided into three subgroups, significant differences were found for the professional development and instruction tasks, but not for the curriculum tasks. Why should this be so?

It may be recalled that the curriculum tasks are related to the question "What will be taught?" They include the relative emphasis to be placed on school subjects and the organization of those subjects. They also deal with the selection and sequencing of content in a subject as well as the degree of emphasis to be placed on various aspects of the subject.

This subgroup of tasks is different from the professional development and instruction tasks in that the provincial department of education has traditionally intervened in curriculum matters, producing a Program of Studies that delineates goals and content for the core subjects taught in the schools of the province. This document is distributed through the school districts to in-

dividual schools and teachers. The department also administers achievement tests at selected grade levels and recommends textbooks and other resources for classroom use.

This intervention by the department of education seems to elicit a reactive stance on the part of school staffs. As one district supervisor remarked during the interviews that preceded the survey, "My definition of curriculum is essentially what Alberta Education provides for us." A school principal added,

> I don't think that teachers in the main, and we in the main, have much input into the actual development of the formal curriculum at all. I think that is just done, it's presented almost always as a fait accompli, and then we are simply looking at the implementation of that formal curriculum.

School staffs could take a more proactive stance toward the Program of Studies, answering Connelly and Ben-Peretz's (1980) call for reflection on the ideas contained in the document and consideration of the merits of those ideas for their own teaching situations. However, the very nature of the top-down, hierarchical model works against this possibility, for it is basically incompatible with professionalism. Glazer (1991) draws on the work of Apple and Jungck to make the point that such interventions as prepackaged curricula, competence testing, and commercial texts give teachers little incentive to use their knowledge and skills to set curricular goals and establish content (among other tasks). She sees this "deskilling of teachers" as contrary to women's efforts to shape an alternative work culture in schools. Rosenholtz (1989) supports this point of view when she writes that "A professional culture does not tend toward bureaucratic compliance" (p. 203).

So it appears that the collaborative management style of the female principals in this study is checked—reined in—by the top-down hierarchical educational system, at least with respect to curriculum matters. (Naturally, male principals with a collaborative bent are caught in the same bind.)

The problem is one of reconciling professionalism and bureaucracy. Because the top-down administrative model is not likely to disappear, the solution may be the development of new working relationships within the hierarchy. Sergiovanni (1987), for example, calls for a shift from "power over" to "power to." He writes that "Power over is controlling and is concerned with 'how can I control people and events so that things turn out the way I want?'" (p. 341). This stance is exemplified by the direct intervention of the provincial department of education in the curriculum tasks. He goes on to say that "Power to, on the other hand, is not instrumental but facilitative. It is power to do something, to accomplish something, and to help others accomplish something that they think is important" (p. 341). Glickman (1989) continues this theme in his discussion of the difference between two reform movements designed to bring about school improvement. One is "legislated learning," which has a top-down orientation and emphasizes compliance with district and state requirements. The other is "empowerment" in which a bottom-up orientation holds principal and teachers jointly responsible for curriculum development. Other authors have also added their voices to the call for greater latitude for schools in a hierarchical system, as shown in Good and Brophy's (1986) review of school effectiveness research.

This does not mean that the provincial department of education should remove itself entirely from curriculum decision making for the schools of the province, for its leadership can encourage equality of opportunity from one geographic area of the province to another. But new working relationships are clearly needed among the levels of the hierarchy. Only then will female principals feel free to bring to the curriculum tasks the collaborative stance that they already bring to professional development and instructional concerns. In addition, when official blessing is given to professional working relationships, male principals may be encouraged seriously to consider collaborative curriculum development at the school level. The younger male principals, as shown in Figure 1, may already be moving in that direction.

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The Politics of Excellence: Trustee Leadership and School District Ethos

This article examines the role of school boards in the development of a productive ethos in nine school districts in British Columbia. A productive district ethos was associated with higher than expected student achievement and lower than expected costs over a five-year period. The more successful boards were found: (a) to be considerably more knowledgeable about district programs and practices; (b) to have a clearer sense of what they wanted to accomplish, based on a set of firmly held values and beliefs; and (c) to engage in activities that provided them with opportunities to articulate and discuss these values and beliefs with educators in the district.

Cet article examine le rôle des commisions scolaires de neuf districts scolaires en Colombie Britannique dans le développement d'une éthique de fonctionnement productif. On associa le fonctionnement d'un district productif à un rendement académique estudiantin plus élevé qu'attendu et à des dépenses inférieures qu'anticipées sur une période de cinq ans. On a trouvé que les commissions scolaires remportant le plus de succès étaient: (a) plus connaissantes envers les programmes et dans les pratiques dans leurs propres districts scolaires; (b) avaient une vision plus claire de ce qu'ils voulaient accomplir et ce, basée sur des valeurs et des croyances identifiées; et (c) véhicullaient ces valeurs et ces croyances avec les éducateurs et les éducatrices du district scolaire par différentes activités permettant l'expression de ces valeurs et ces croyances partagées.

Introduction

In British Columbia public schools are organized into local administrative units called school districts. The chief educational officer of the school district is the superintendent and the governing body is the school board. The members of the school board are referred to as trustees, and they are elected. The governance structure of public education in BC is similar to that in other provinces in Canada and in the United States.

Academic interest in school boards has focused largely on their representative function; for example: the recruitment, selection, and socialization of board members (Cistone, 1975); incumbent defeat (Iannaccone & Lutz, 1970; LeDoux & Burlingame, 1973; Mitchell & Thorsted, 1976); board member role

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perceptions (Mann, 1977; Teichman, 1974); and board member linkages with the community (Jennings, 1975; McCarty & Ramsey, 1971). There also has been considerable interest in the policy function of school boards (Coleman, 1974; Zeigler, Tucker, & Wilson, 1977), but it has been concerned mainly with the nature of the board-superintendent relationship (Boyd, 1975, 1976; McCarty & Ramsey, 1971; Zeigler & Jennings, 1974) and with the increased politicization of the educational policy making process (Boyd, 1978a, 1978b; Downey, 1977, 1988; Williams, 1977). Much less is known, however, about the board's role during policy implementation and the nature of the board's impact on the professionals in the district.

The study reported here is part of a larger study of school district ethos in British Columbia, Canada. In this article we examine the role of the policy function of school boards in the development of a productive ethos. In particular, we identify and assess the success of the major board policy initiatives in each district; we describe the leadership characteristics of the trustees whose policy initiatives are successful and draw distinctions between the successful and unsuccessful trustees; and we relate trustee leadership to district performance and district ethos.

We have tentatively proposed a cluster of "ethos" characteristics of school districts, analogous to, or perhaps causally linked to, the characteristics of effective schools, which might help to explain variations in school district performance with respect to cost and achievement measures (Coleman, 1986a, 1986b). We have been exploring the relationship between district ethos and district quality in a multiyear, multisite study of school districts, and we have described various elements of a productive ethos that seem to discriminate between high-performing districts and others (Coleman & LaRocque, 1990).

We suggest that a productive district ethos consists of a high degree of interest in and concern about six activity and attitude focuses to which school administrators are encouraged to pay attention. As shown in Table 1, these focuses provide a link between district activities and those classroom and school activities that influence important educational outcomes (Coleman, 1986b). They also emphasize the embeddedness of classrooms in schools and schools in districts.

The first three focuses are task-oriented; the latter three are affective in nature. A similar dichotomy, labeled *initiating structure/consideration* has proved remarkably sturdy in leadership research (McPherson, Crowson, & Pitner, 1986, p. 229). These focuses may affect the ways in which districts handle a series of common administrative tasks (derived from Coleman, 1972, and Berman & McLaughlin, 1979). The tasks and focuses can be combined to yield a conceptual framework, illustrated in Table 2, in which the cells represent a series of research questions about district ethos. The most important linkage between elements is leadership, which cuts across all of the activities listed in the first column, links the various levels, and operates by influencing principals and teachers to narrow their attention to a limited set of issues.

The focuses together constitute productive district ethos. We have used the term *productive district ethos* (see Coleman & LaRocque, 1989, for an elaboration of this notion) in order to convey the purposeful nature of the organization's "shared understandings, norms, and values" (Jelinek, Smircich, & Hirsh, 1983).

Table 1
Parallels Between Good Classrooms, Good Schools, and Good School Districts

	Activity	*Classroom Level*	*School Level*	*District Level*	*Focus*
Academic Purposes	taking care of business	time on task	academic orientation	focus on instruction	Learning Focus
	monitoring performance	student account.	teacher account.	school account.	Accountability Focus
	changing policies/ practices	instructional practice	continuous improvement	organiz-ational change	Change Focus
Nurturance Purposes	creating shared values	collegiality	consensus on school life	commitment to effort	Commitment Focus
	caring for stakeholders	student support	ethos of caring	consideration	Caring Focus
	creating community support	parents as partners	parent integration	community integration	Community Focus
	Leadership				

Productive district ethos contributes to two distinct purposes or goals generally accepted by professionals: the academic success of students, and by extension the effectiveness of professionals; and nurturance or care for students' academic welfare, and by extension the commitment of professionals. A composite profile of a productive district ethos with respect to these two purposes is given in Tables 3 and 4.

It is clear from our findings that the superintendency (i.e., the group of district administrators who share responsibility for district leadership) has a considerable impact on district ethos, which may in turn have an impact on district performance (Coleman & LaRocque, 1988). What is not clear is the impact of trustee leadership, either in terms of policy development or in other respects.

In all except one of the districts in our study the school boards were responsible for a number of important initiatives, most of which were expressed as policy. Although most of the boards were successful in terms of preserving the intent of their initiative through the policy development process, far fewer were successful in terms of seeing desired changes occur. Not coincidentally, we are sure, these successful boards were in high-performing districts characterized by a productive ethos.

It can be, and generally is, argued that implementation of policy is the responsibility of the superintendent, whereas the board is restricted to a policy making and overseeing function. As we demonstrate, however, the successful boards in our study were vocal advocates of their policies, and more specifically of the values underlying the policies. They promoted their policies in ways that complemented the superintendent's implementation efforts, without over-

Table 2
District Ethos and District Tasks

	District Tasks		
Six Focuses (District Ethos)	*A. Be Accountable*	*B. Improve/Adapt*	*C. Set Expectations*
Learning Focus 1. focus on instruction	program effectiveness assessed?	changes to improve instruction?	instructional goals most important?
Accountability Focus 2. school accountability	schools held accountable for performance?	changes to improve school accountability practices?	monitoring and instructional goals linked?
Change Focus 3. organizational change	changes as response to performance data?	changes as response to environment changes?	changes in goals/goal-setting processes?
Commitment Focus 4. commitment to effort	commitment to accountability created?	commitment to change efforts created?	commitment to school/district goals created?
Caring Focus 5. consideration	concern for professional and community opinion on performance?	decisions reflect concerns of professionals and community?	emphasis on affective goals?
Community Focus 6. community integration	schools/district involve community in monitoring?	community involvement in change efforts?	community involvement setting of goals?

stepping the boundaries into the administrative domain. They established a mandate for their initiatives among the professionals in the district, and exercised leadership not only in the community but in the school system.

School Board Leadership

Consideration of trustee leadership traditionally has focused on the policy making function of school boards (Coleman, 1974). Certainly this was a major theme of the recent report of a national United States study of local school boards (Institute for Educational Leadership [IEL], 1986). The issue, however, is complex; Burlingame (1988) concluded his review of the literature on school boards as major actors in policy making by saying: "In sum, these studies suggest that the common notion of public control of schools deserves close scrutiny; control seems to vary by type of community and by type of issue" (p. 444).

If our knowledge of the role of the school board in policy making is incomplete, even less is known about board activities with respect to a policy after it has been approved. This may be due to two reasons: the distinction between the role of the board and the role of the superintendent; and the commonly held conceptualization of the policy process that views policy making and

Table 3
Composite Profile of a Productive District Ethos—Academic Purposes

Focus on	*District Tasks*		
	Be Accountable	*Improve/Adapt*	*Set Expectations*
Instruction	standardized testing cross-grade exams internal and external school assessment formal personnel evaluation analysis of district results improvement orientation district administrator-principal collaboration	teaching effectiveness programs refinement/addition of programs provision of information through: - teacher inservice - staff inservice - principal inservice attention to implementation influence of professional literature	performance improvement
School Accountability	school-specific data district administrator-principal discussion of data school improvement plans follow-up monitoring strong district administrator presence district administrator-principal collaboration school responsibility for improvement	regular refinement of established accountability practices addition of new practices acquisition of reliable and comparative data greater school involvement in monitoring process	identify weaknesses and plan improvements acquire reliable outcome data in core areas set high performance standards
Organizational Change	reorganization of district administration structure redefinition of district administration positions district administrators in schools instructional emphasis principal reassignment	(coping strategies did not discriminate districts) belief district handled restraint well continuation of initiatives belief restraint had little lasting impact	establish district direction schools part of district, not independent units greater involvement of principals in decision making increased school autonomy in decision making

Table 4
Composite Profile of a Productive District Ethos—Nurturance Purposes

Focus on	*District Tasks*		
	Be Accountable	*Improve/Adapt*	*Set Expectations*
Commitment to Effort	demonstrate DA commitment encourage school responsibility support principals reduce threat	demonstrate DA commitment encourage school responsibility support principals reduce threat	demonstrate DA commitment encourage school responsibility support principals reduce threat
Consideration of the Client	district reporting of test results school reporting of test results regular parent surveys multiple reporting and feedback mechanisms	increase communication with parents (newsletter) establish parent advisory groups newsletter as reporting mechanism	report to parents keep in touch with parent opinion and concerns
Community Integration	disseminate information about school programs and practices in a variety of ways (e.g., newsletters and parent groups) use of volunteers school-based activities	inform parents of school goals seek parental feedback seek parental input school-based activities	inform parents of school goals seek parental feedback seek parental input school-based activities

policy implementation as two distinct sets of activities. Each aspect is reviewed below.

Boards and Their Superintendents

The board-superintendent relationship often has been portrayed in the literature as problematic (Boyd, 1975, 1976; Burlingame, 1988). More specifically, the IEL study (1986) describes four different scenarios of both positive and negative encroachment of the board and the superintendent into the other's domain. Thus although the separation of policy and administrative functions may be simple and neat in theory, in practice it is more difficult.

For some, the test of board leadership is its ability to withstand control by the superintendent. Zeigler and Jennings (1974) concluded that the school boards they studied were not exercising their leadership function because either there was little conflict in the board-superintendent relationship or the superintendent's opinion was likely to prevail when there was opposition to him or her. A later study by Tucker and Zeigler (1980) confirmed this conclusion. For others, the levels of conflict between the board and the superintendent are not so much indicators of lay control as the result of such factors as the availability of conflict management resources (Minar, 1966) or trustee beliefs and expectations concerning the proper conduct of educational decision making (Cistone, 1971; Cistone & Hennessy, 1971).

The findings of McCarty and Ramsey's (1971) classic study of 51 school districts raise questions about the significance of conflict between school boards and superintendents and about factors that affect the likelihood of conflict. There was little conflict between boards and superintendents in any of the districts they studied, yet there is good reason to believe that in all except the inert communities (which McCarty and Ramsey felt were relics of the past and declining in number) the balance of power favored the board rather than the superintendent. Both the boards and the superintendents played some role in decision making; neither was clearly dominant nor dominated.

Absence of conflict, then, does not necessarily indicate that the board has been co-opted by the superintendent. Boyd (1975) suggests that superintendents generally confine their "recommendations and activities to things that are consonant with predominant community values and expectations concerning the schools" (p. 118), that is, they are sensitive to the "zone of tolerance." Coleman (1974) goes further and recommends that the superintendent play an explicit role in policy making, that of policy researcher for the board, because

> in an era of accountability, and in an era in which the demands on public policy makers are increasingly severe, and the quality of public policy making is increasingly at issue, the role of the school trustee will become more and more difficult to perform well. (p. 54)

To summarize, although some fear that superintendent involvement in policy making is an indication of the board's failure to govern, others feel that the superintendent has a legitimate role in policy making, one that does not usurp the board's governing function, and that even superintendents who appear to be acting independently are actually constrained by the zone of tolerance. In other words, what at one time may have been seen as encroachment of the superintendent into the board's domain is no longer considered in

that light. Apparently the converse, however, does not hold. Little recognition has been given to the legitimacy of the continued active interest of the board in a policy after it has been approved over and above its oversight function. Often such board interest, from the perspective of the administrators, is viewed as interference.

Boards and Policy Implementation

In spite of all we have learned about implementation over the last two decades, the classical model of implementation is still prevalent and considered a desirable approach by school board members (LaRocque, 1987). One assumption of this model, which by its apparent simplicity and rationality may make it attractive to policy makers, is that the activities of policy making and policy implementation are bounded and sequential, so that there is a clear division of labor between policy makers and policy implementers, with the former first deciding on the goals and the means of achieving them, and the latter subsequently carrying out their instructions. The findings of numerous studies have challenged this assumption (for reviews of such studies, see Berman, 1978; House 1981; Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). In fact, it has been argued that in a real sense in professional bureaucracies (Mintzberg, 1979) policy is "made" by the people who implement it (Lipsky, 1976, 1978).

There is, moreover, considerable evidence of the direct involvement of policy implementers in the policy making arena (Radin, 1977). Certainly the right of teachers and principals to be involved in making policies that directly affect them is well recognized. Every district in our study acknowledged this right and often incorporated it into their policy on policy making. The right of the board to show a continued active interest in the implementation of a policy, however, is less well recognized. This is unfortunate, because the lessons we are learning from implementation studies suggest that there is an opportunity for boards to make an important contribution.

Current models of change in education emphasize the interactive nature of the making of policy and its implementation (McLaughlin, 1976). It appears that principal leadership is critical for implementation success (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; Leithwood & Montgomery, 1982), as is the support for change efforts provided by district staff (Berman & McLaughlin, 1979; Leithwood & Fullan, 1984). Huberman and Miles (1984) have demonstrated that initial administrative pressure to adopt, the provision of professional growth opportunities for teachers, and a balance of persistent pressure and continuous support throughout the implementation phase lead to fairly reliable institutionalization of change.

It seems clear that the activities of district administrators are "critical for change in district practice" (Fullan, 1982, p. 65), with paying attention a major signal to teachers of district administrator commitment to the change (LaRocque & Coleman, 1985; McLaughlin & Marsh, 1979). Leithwood and Fullan (1984) have provided a description of some of the elements said to foster long-term growth in district effectiveness. These include constant attention, problem solving, coping with anxiety among those responsible for change by providing psychological support, helping people understand the rationale for the change, and applying some pressure for change.

One major theme running through these research findings is the necessity of applying pressure balanced with support. As McLaughlin (1987) says: "Experience shows that some balance of pressure and support is essential. Pressure is required in most settings to focus attention a reform objective; support is needed to enable implementation" (p. 173). These findings refer to district and/or school administrator leadership, but certainly it is possible to envision board members providing both pressure and support in ways that do not entail interference in purely administrative matters.

McLaughlin (1987) also identified another lesson from the implementation literature that has applicability for school board members: "Implementation problems are never 'solved.' Rather they evolve through a multi-stage, iterative process" (p. 174). If new problems and new issues keep arising throughout implementation, then this is a compelling reason for the continued involvement of the board in the policy process. The board is in the best position to articulate the intent of the policy, and certainly should be party to any renegotiation of the policy intent.

It seems possible, and even desirable, that school boards play a meaningful role in policy implementation, by providing pressure and support and by maintaining a focus on the policy intent throughout the complex and dynamic implementation process. These kinds of activities are consistent with changes in conceptualization of educational leadership.

Boards and District Ethos

Recent theoretical perspectives on educational administrative leadership have shifted from an emphasis on relational elements to an emphasis on ethos elements. They stress the responsibility of the leader for the creation and maintenance of organizational culture (Schein, 1985). This work involves such tasks as "symbol management ... consistent articulation of a common vision ... and the provision of common language in terms of which people can explain their own actions ... and communicate with one another" (Weick, 1982, p. 676) in the organization. As important is "paying attention," which sets the organizational agenda (Schein, 1985; Sergiovanni, 1984). Baldridge and Deal (1983) argue that previous metaphors of administrative control that fail to recognize the importance of ethos are inappropriate to our current understanding of educational organizations.

This body of work reminds us that leadership is, after all, for something, rather than being an end in itself. Current research on "what educational administrators actually do and what difference it makes for organizational effectiveness" constitutes the beginning of a "paradigm shift" in the field (Boyd & Crowson, 1981). In management studies this new emphasis in leadership research has been labeled *functional leadership*. It builds from concerns with effectiveness and coordination: "If a leader manages ... to ensure that all functions critical to both task accomplishment and group maintenance are adequately taken care of, then the leader has done his or her job well" (Hackman & Walton, 1986, p. 75). The emphasis here is less on regulating the activities of others through policy mechanisms, and more on ensuring the achievement of desired outcomes. These leaders work in organizations characterized by a focus on commitment within which one of the functions of task groups is to help in "generating and enforcing norms" (Walton & Hackman, 1986, p. 192).

Leadership research in general, however, seems still to focus on issues other than ethos. Yukl's authoritative and recently updated review (1989) concludes that leaders are largely acted on by situational variables, and finds little room in the "integrating conceptual framework" (p. 269) for transformational leadership. We argue that effective leaders actively set out to modify the situations in which they find themselves. In educational research, there is evidence beyond our own for this.

For example, in effective or improving schools, the work of principals in strengthening collaborative work and the professional culture seems critical: "The leadership orientation of effective and ineffective principals was a significant factor in shaping the teachers' work perspective as well as affecting significantly the sociocultural context (patterns of behavior and norms) of the school" (Blase, 1987, p. 591). Effective principals accomplished this task by "affecting the meanings teachers attributed to core issues" (p. 590). Blase argues that the principal is critically important in creating culture (or ethos) of either positive or negative kinds. His careful empirical study of teacher perceptions of the principalship concludes:

> Broadly speaking, effective school principals appeared to contribute to school cultures viewed as associative; such cultures were described as cohesive. Interactions between principals and teachers and between teachers and others were viewed as cooperative, empathetic, supportive, respectful, equitable and productive. In contrast ineffective principals tended to create cultures viewed as dissociative; these cultures were seen as fragmented. (p. 609)

In sum, the current research leads us to expect district leadership in high-performing districts to involve creating and sustaining a productive district ethos that indirectly affects principals and through them teachers, students, and parents. This research has focused on administrative leadership in educational organizations, but the findings seem applicable to trustee leadership. We suggest that leadership in school districts is largely a matter of creating and sustaining a productive district ethos. We believe, with Peterson, Murphy, and Hallinger (1987), that cultural elements are as important as technical elements in educational leadership. School boards can, without usurping the superintendent's administrative prerogatives, engage in activities that help to create and sustain a productive district ethos.

Methodological Considerations

The general methodology parallels that of most of the effective schools research: Given a sample of districts contrasting in respect to some important outcomes, is it possible to identify differences in district ethos and associated policies and practices in the group that might help to account for a variance in outcomes? To be convincing, such differences in ethos must at least vary across the sample consistently with the variance in outcomes.

Sample of Districts

In British Columbia, the westernmost province of Canada, there are 75 school districts (local administrative units), which in 1984 ranged in size from about 400 to over 50,000 pupils. With a few exceptions, each has a locally appointed district superintendent who is responsible for the administration of education. Each district also has an elected school board responsible for policy-level

decisions such as budget development and some curricular matters. At present district budgets are established by the Ministry of Education, which also retains some control over curriculum and such operational matters as the school calendar and personnel practices.

Ten districts comprise the sample for the overall study. They were selected purposely so as to vary in four respects: residual scores and costs, district size (Peterson, 1984), and type of community (rural/urban location; Hrebiniak & Joyce, 1984). The sample is neither random nor representative; it does include districts that are different in ways that are often considered important.

The nine test scores available from provincial test batteries given to all students in the appropriate age cohort between 1981 and 1984 were: science—grades 4, 8, and 12; reading—grades 4, 7, and 10; and mathematics—grades 4, 8, and 12. The cost data were taken from school district budgets. (See Coleman & LaRocque, 1984, for details.) Our procedure with the achievement data was to standardize and aggregate the test scores and calculate a residual using Community Education Level (the percentage of families with some postsecondary education) as a predictor. This is the strongest available proxy for family environment (Walberg & Majoribanks, 1976) available as a predictor of achievement in British Columbia (Coleman, 1986a). The resulting measure is Residual Achievement, a broad and probably somewhat overstated measure of district impact on student test scores. It was necessary to transform the cost data by using the reciprocal to reduce skewedness. The standardized and transformed 1982 per-pupil costs were residualized with District Mean Grade Size, an important predictor of costs over which the district has little control (Coleman, 1987; Coleman & LaRocque, 1987). (See Coleman and LaRocque, 1990, for details concerning statistical analyses and sample selection, including an examination of issues related to the aggregation of data.)

We then rank-ordered the districts by Residual Achievement and Residual Costs, and selected for our sample 10 districts. We conducted the study of school trustees in nine of these districts. They are listed in Table 5, which also summarizes various characteristics of these districts. We have called districts with a high residual score and a low residual cost "high-performing," and districts with a low residual score and a high residual cost, "low-performing." District performance level is given in the last column of Table 5.

District Reussir is located in a small city in the interior of the province and serves the rural area surrounding the city. District Quarantine is a largely resource-based town on a major highway, with most of the schools in town and close together. District Wary is quite rural, although it also contains a small town. Many of the schools serve small villages some way from any city. District Fiefdom is centered on a large city, but serves a considerable rural area and has a wide variety of types and sizes of schools. District Jointure is in a relatively remote area, with very scattered schools, some of which are quite large. District Politicate serves an economically diverse community with several small towns, some of which are tourist-oriented. District Halfheart consists of a single high school and a group of small and scattered feeder elementary schools serving a resource-based community quite near a larger center. District Moribund is a rather affluent small city with a long (for British Columbia) history. The schools

Table 5
The Purposive Sample of BC School Districts

District	*Size*	*Type of Community*	*Achievement Rank*	*Costs Rank*	*Performance Rating*
Reussir	medium	small city/rural	1	6	high
Jointure	medium	small city/rural	21	20	high
Fiefdom	large	city/rural	13	11	high
Wary	large	small city/rural	11	13	high
Quarantine	small	rural/small town	6	3	high
Politicate	medium	rural/small towns	24	35	medium
Halfheart	small	rural	51	70	low
Moribund	medium	small city/urban	67	68	low
Collegiate	small	rural/isolated	71	73	low

Note: Size ranges: small = less than 2,100; medium = 2,100-5,600; large = over 5,600.
(There are 25 districts in each size range.)
A rank of 1 is high for achievement and low for costs.

are close together and quite large. District Collegiate is an isolated community with a few very small schools and a substantial Native population.

Data Collection

The major method of data collection was the interview. In the larger study, all line administrators in the district were interviewed on several occasions during the late 1980s. For the districts in the sample, this represented one to three individuals. All the principals in the smaller districts were interviewed. About one third of the principals in the larger districts were interviewed, chosen purposely so as to vary with respect to school type (e.g., elementary and secondary), school size, and school location (e.g., in town and out of town). Principals with fewer than three years service in the district were excluded on the grounds that they might not be fully familiar with district practices. There were no district administrators with fewer than three years in the district. For the purposes of the study reported here, administrator interview data were used to confirm the identification of major board policy initiatives to assess the success of the major board policy initiatives and to compare with trustee descriptions of district norms and practices.

The chairman of the board plus one other trustee, preferably one who represented a different constituency if that could be determined, were interviewed in nine of the 10 districts. These boards consisted of three, five, or seven members. All the trustees we interviewed except one had completed at least one term in office, and most had completed three or more terms. The responses of the board members constitute the data pool for this report.

The audiotaped interview consisted of 32 relatively broad and open-ended questions and took 90 to 150 minutes to complete. One interview question plus some possible probes were developed for each cell in Table 2. These were designed to elicit as complete and as accurate descriptions of district norms and practices as possible. There was an additional question on fiscal decision-making and monitoring. Comparable questions were asked of all respondents.

The preparation of the interview guides was influenced considerably by Gorden (1975) and Lortie (1975).

Data Analysis

All the information provided by the school board members was compiled into a single file per district. Initial readings of the interview transcripts resulted in the identification of major board policy initiatives within the last five years (see Table 6) and in the emergence of three themes—board knowledge of district programs and practices, board values and beliefs, and board activities (see Tables 7, 8 and 9). The first step in coding was to identify all instances of policy initiatives and of the three themes.

An instance of "knowledge" was coded when the board member identified a specific district or school program, practice, or planned change. It was then noted whether the respondent (a) discussed it in some detail and with some

Table 6
Success of Major Board Initiatives, by District

District	*Major Board Initiatives*	*Success*
Reussir	French Immersion	+
	teacher and principal evaluation	+
	communication/reporting	+
	community input/parent consultative committee	+
Jointure	school-based decision making	+
	decentralization of junior secondary schools	+
	school assessment	+
	community involvement/school parent groups	+
Fiefdom	teacher and principal evaluation	+
	curriculum and assessment policy	+
	communication with community/parent groups	+
Wary	principal evaluation	+
	school evaluation	+
	accountability to the board	+
	parent advisory groups	+
Politicate	middle school assessment	–
	parent consultative groups	–
Quarantine	community survey	–
	parent advisory groups	–
Halfheart	parent advisory groups	–
Moribund	broad consultation during policy making	–
	home and school groups	–
	community survey	–
Collegiate	(no Board initiatives)	NA

Key: + = meets all three criteria of success.
– = does not meet all three criteria of success.

Note: The initiatives of successful boards addressed both accountability and responsiveness concerns; the initiatives of unsuccessful boards addressed only responsiveness concerns.

familiarity, and (b) described it in terms consistent with what other respondents had said.

An instance of "values and beliefs" was coded when the board member expressed a statement concerning: (a) belief or value; (b) the purpose of or rationale for an activity; or (c) expectations for the behavior of professionals in the district.

Only those practices that met the following criteria were coded as activities: (a) they reflected board initiative, that is, they were either not required by the Ministry of Education or other external agency, or if required they were given special attention; (b) they were described in specific and concrete terms; (c) there was evidence that these activities actually occurred; (d) they actively involved one or more of the board members; and (e) there was agreement among the respondents as to the occurrence of this activity.

Next, each instance was categorized. The categories are listed in Tables 7, 8 and 9. Two research assistants coded the school board member interview data; they also wrote global impressions of each school board based solely on the trustee interview data. They had not been involved in the coding of the district and school administrator interview data, and they had no information concerning district performance ratings or ethos descriptions. Four boards clearly emerged as superior to the other five on the basis of both the coding and the global impressions. These same boards were judged by a third coder to be successful in terms of the implementation of policy initiatives according to the criteria described below.

Table 7
Successful and Unsuccessful Boards' Knowledge of Programs and Practices

Knowledge Concerning	*Successful Boards*	*Unsuccessful Boards*
Academic Programs	specific, detailed information re programs planned changes reasons for changes	general and vague information
Monitoring Practices	specific, detailed information re kinds of data processes	general and vague information
District and School Performance	specific, detailed information re overall performance performance variations, with explanations	general and vague information
School Activities	specific, detailed information re parent groups special events special programs unique circumstances	general and vague information

Table 8
Successful and Unsuccessful Boards' Values and Beliefs

Value/Belief Concerning	*Successful Boards*	*Unsuccessful Boards*
Fiscal Responsibility	restraint spend wisely	restraint
High Achievement	high standards maintained core programs special programs pro-d programs reported district results	high standards cutbacks affected core programs special programs pro-d programs reported "success stories"
Responsiveness to Community	communications involvement act on concerns encourage input right to know about district performance	communications involvement act on concerns encourage input right to know about district performance

Table 9
Successful and Unsuccessful Boards' Activities

Value/Belief	*Successful Districts*	*Unsuccessful Districts*
Learn about District Programs	district staff reports meet with curriculum committees visit schools hear presentations see demonstrations give priority to education committee	mainly through district staff reports
Learn about District Monitoring and Performance	discuss reports seek explanations meet with school reps meet with specialists	mainly through district staff reports
Meet with Teachers and Administrators	exchange viewpoints highlight policies highlight values frequent and varied opportunities	hear concerns infrequent opportunities

Findings

The major board initiatives are listed in Table 6, which also indicates whether each initiative was successful. Our judgments of success were based on three criteria: if, during our interviews with district and school administrators, we found evidence of (a) widespread awareness of the initiative, (b) serious discussion of the issues so as to promote shared working knowledge (Kennedy,

1984) and professional norms (Little, 1982), and (c) changes in practice consistent with the initiative.

As Table 6 shows, the initiatives of some of the unsuccessful boards were similar to those of the successful boards, yet they did not have the same impact on district practice. The main differences between the two groups of trustees were that the successful boards: (a) were considerably more knowledgeable about district programs and practices; (b) had a clearer sense of what they wanted to accomplish based on a set of firmly held values and beliefs; and (c) engaged in activities that provided them with opportunities to articulate these values and beliefs. Rather lengthy excerpts from the interview transcripts of trustees sitting on the four successful boards are given in order to illustrate these points and to convey some sense of the distinctive character of each board as well as those features they share that seem to contribute to their success.

Knowledge

The school board members talked about academic programs offered by the district, district monitoring practices, district and school performance on a variety of achievement measures, and specific school activities. The trustees from the successful boards, however, were able to discuss district programs, practices, and performance more specifically and in more detail.

> There is enrichment in mathematics and in English that is given to certain students in the elementary schools with itinerant enrichment teachers. And I think these have certainly sparked the imagination of the students. Also, because the itinerant teacher and the classroom teacher must agree on the challenge, there is a carry over in terms of inservice for the classroom teacher.... At the moment we have a specific concern for some of the Native children, we are trying to implement programs that will help maintain their stability in the school program.... We have had to cut down on the music program (because of the provincial financial restraint program). We had hoped to put in five music specialists to provide assistance to the classroom teachers, but we had to cut back to two. And we haven't gone as far in the computer programming as we have wanted to. (District R)

> The school does a self-evaluation first, a very intense self-evaluation. The team, which now more and more includes a community member, goes in the school and discusses that evaluation with the staff and does an evaluation themselves. But the self-evaluation is still the big thing, the most helpful thing, for the staff. There is a questionnaire that might involve some staff and students sometimes, I don't think it is all the time. There is a telephone questionnaire that in the past has been just parents, but we discovered that it may not be adequate, so we expanded it to include the community. All of this goes into the evaluation that comes to the board. And then the staff comes and this is really something, sometimes you see the whole staff, plus some parents, the secretary, maybe the custodian. Here you are all together. It really tells you something about the way they run their outfit. If there were some problem areas in the external report, areas where they felt there could be improvement, then the team follows up in a year or so. (District J)

> Even the provincial assessments, where we are able to get school based information, don't indicate any marked differences on an overall school-by-school basis. They do indicate differences in a particular subject in some cases from one school to the next. Quite often that's attributable to the fact that one school will have

> only one teacher doing a particular discipline, say German for example, whereas another school might have three. And you can pick up those differences sometimes but this is usually a result of testing with small numbers and so it fluctuates quite a bit.... To a very great degree we rely on interpreting results obtained at the provincial level through the Ministry's various testing and assessment programs, and to a much smaller degree a self-reporting by individual schools on the basis of their own monitoring and assessment of how their program is going. We are only in the process now of developing what we would consider to be any kind of district-wide or district-mandated method of assessment. (District F)

> This year we will again have resource teachers who will assist teachers with some of the areas that we have problems with or new programs, that sort of thing. We are making particular efforts in a couple of areas, especially math and reading or English, because on the last series of information that we got we were sliding a little bit provincially with some of our results and we were definitely concerned. There will be some effort to strengthen and emphasize improving these areas.... There is a need for positive communication with the community. They are doing it in different ways in each school. For example, one of the high schools has certain days like grandparents' day or community day, where they invite people to come in, an open house. It has gone over so well. The board has really congratulated them.... Declining enrollment wreaks havoc with programming, particularly in small secondary schools. Most have lost several programs, and at the rate we are going, we'll continue to lose some more. (District W)

Both respondents from each successful board were able to identify the same five or six curriculum areas that recently had received particular attention (and their responses were entirely consistent with those of the district and school administrators) to describe the kinds of changes being planned and to discuss the reasons for these changes. They could talk easily about the various issues involved and the implications of different courses of action.

The successful boards were also knowledgeable about district monitoring practices and district performance. They were able to identify the various kinds of performance data utilized by the district and school administrators and describe in some detail how various monitoring practices were carried out. These trustees could discuss how well the district was doing overall, the variation in performance throughout the district, and possible explanations for these variations.

Finally, these trustees described a variety of specific school practices—the different kinds of parent advisory groups, special events, special programs, unique problems. Their knowledge was based on a number of sources of information, including visits to the schools, discussions with the principal and staff representatives, and reading school assessment reports and school newsletters. Certainly these boards did not rely solely, or even largely, on parent comments to form their impressions of the schools, something of which trustees in the other districts were accused frequently by the principals.

Trustees of the unsuccessful boards, in contrast, were unable to provide much specific information about curricular programs and monitoring practices. They could only discuss district performance in the most general terms. Repeatedly throughout their interviews they suggested we talk to the superintendent for information on a particular matter. Most frequently they said that

they trusted the administrative staff to report to them anything that they needed to know.

The ease and specificity with which the trustees from successful boards spoke about district programs and practices were convincing evidence that they were not merely parroting what the superintendent told them, but that they truly had a good understanding of what was going on. The development of such knowledge and understanding is no easy task. This was recognized by the principals in these districts whom we interviewed, who described the boards as hardworking and sincere. This is high praise indeed, especially when you consider that these boards generally were more politically conservative than the principals (another adjective frequently used by the principals was *rednecked*) and they were largely responsible for a number of assessment procedures such as principal evaluation, school assessment, and cross-school exams at the secondary level. The board's knowledgeability, rather than being viewed as threatening by the principals, was seen as evidence of its commitment. Nor can the board's knowledgeability be construed as interference in administrative matters. The successful boards were rigorous and widesweeping in exercising their oversight function, but their concerns were at the policy rather than the day-to-day operations level. Furthermore, the areas in which they chose to become most knowledgeable were consistent with their stated values and beliefs.

Values and Beliefs

All the board members expressed a number of similar values and beliefs related to fiscal responsibility, accountability for academic achievement in the district, and responsiveness to the community.

> Our basic goal is not to—while we are interested in all these other things—not to let go of that mainstream of expertise in the basics of reading and math and general knowledge. When our superintendent came, he brought with him an expertise in the supervision of schools and programs and assistance to principals. Our monitoring has improved. There are more visitations to the schools by district staff. And the Principals' Meetings have improved, they are discussing more now.... We have always gone out on the local newspaper with the results (of the provincial learning assessments and government exams), irrespective of the results—I have got to be very clear about that.... The Consultative Committees have come out of the old Parent Teacher Association and are working away from simply being operators of hot dog stands to more involvement in things like the Let's Talk About Schools Program and in the curriculum. (District R)

> Our part of the province was hit very hard by the recession. We realized even before the restraint program that we had to do something. We were acting as responsibly as possible.... There are some school staffs that are really involved in self-improvement. I think Pro. D. has become far more serious matter and definitely administrators are taking the problem of less than adequate teachers more seriously now than they did.... Two of the things (about making school better) were communications and community involvement, two of those seven major things. But the interesting thing was the trustees put those two things on top of their list and administrators put them at the bottom of the list. I think, though, that it's just a matter of time until the administrators accept that this is very, very important. (District J)

> The board instructed the superintendent to develop within the system a policy on curriculum and assessment that would meet these general objectives. One of them, for example, was to ensure that the grade 10 graduation for all students would represent the accomplishment of a known level of achievement for all of the course subjects and that that be very clearly defined. Now the board did not define what that level was going to be, but it expected that part of the policy would be to include a definition of what that acceptable level of achievement in grade 10 would be.... The board has said that although teachers can be more flexible in setting objectives for the non-mainstream academic courses, in the core areas the achievement of the grade 12 level credit in a grade 12 level course must by definition meet the standard of preparing the student so that he or she has a reasonable chance of succeeding in the next higher level course. And so we are going to expect some liaison in our articulation discussions with postsecondary institutions as one of the regular features of monitoring whether that's been achieved or not. (District F)

> One of the biggest things that we've done is set down a system where the district staff goes into every school every year and helps set goals and objectives in the fall and goes through an evaluation process of those goals and objectives for the school with the principal in the spring. We've put in place a much stronger system for reporting on principals. We do that every three years with some follow-up. We are doing these things in order to improve the schools, improve the educational aspect of the schools, to improve the school's relationship with the communities. It's a system that will help schools identify areas of weakness and even help them find solutions.... I think the schools have withdrawn from the community, they've placed themselves in somewhat of an aloof position. I don't think the community really understands the differences in education that have been created in the last 10 years. I see it as a responsibility of the schools to be responsive to their communities. However, I should qualify that with it's very difficult to expect a degree of excellence from schools in this area unless the school board is behind it and willing to help the schools. (District W)

Nearly all the respondents talked about their sense of fiscal responsibility. In fact, in seven of the nine districts (the exceptions being H and M) the board members were in favor of the government's fiscal restraint program and said they understood the reasons for it even if they did not like how it had been implemented. The trustees of the successful boards did not just feel accountable for limiting expenditures, however; they also felt accountable to the public for the wise management of the budget. These board members talked about "spending money wisely," using the budget in ways which enhanced educational goals. Their concern about controlling costs was subservient to their concern about providing quality education to the students in the district.

Another expressed value was accountability, which had two components: maintenance of high academic standards and reporting on performance to the public. To the members of the successful boards their main responsibility was for the academic achievement of the students under their jurisdiction and the maintenance of high standards in the core academic areas. The overriding nature of this value was evident in the kinds of decisions concerning cutbacks that were made during the fiscal restraint program—the integrity of the core instructional program had to be maintained. To this end the successful boards supported extensive professional development programs for their principals and teachers, even during times of restraint. In addition, these boards were

concerned about children's other needs and about the needs of special students, and they supported a number of programs and projects designed to serve such needs (e.g., the arts, special education, enrichment, Native education, and prevention of drug and alcohol abuse and sexual abuse). Most of the boards in the study, particularly the successful ones, also felt a responsibility to report to the public and to ensure that schools reported to their communities on performance. They felt that the public had a right to know how their children were doing and how the system overall was doing. An important difference between the successful and other boards was that the latter tended to emphasize "success stories" such as scholarship winners, whereas the former also reported overall district results on the provincial learning assessments and grade 12 exams.

Not surprisingly, all board members believed the district should be responsive to community concerns. This was expressed in different ways: that the schools should develop good communications with the community; that the schools should involve the community more; that the schools should be sensitive to community concerns; and that the schools should encourage community input. Reasons for the concern with responsiveness were twofold: the desire to ensure community support, and the desire to recognize the right of the community to information and involvement. A number of initiatives were related to this concern—parent consultative committees and school newsletters were in the forefront. The trustees were also able to identify a number of changes that originated with community concerns, with the establishment of late French immersion programs being the most commonly mentioned.

The unsuccessful boards shared the values and beliefs of the successful boards, but their values and beliefs (a) were not as clearly articulated, (b) did not serve as frequently as a basis for board initiatives, and (c) did not inform many program and monitoring decisions. The successful boards had a much clearer vision of what the district should be like. The links between their expressed values and beliefs and their actions were much stronger.

Activities

The successful boards engaged in a much wider variety of activities than did the unsuccessful boards, activities that enabled them to keep informed about district programs, practices, and performance, and to interact with principals and teachers on topics of interest to the board.

> The board assesses the school assessments and program evaluations. We take an interest in the curriculum—people responsible for various areas within the school district will come in and meet with the board and tell us what they are doing. We monitor programs through the principals' and the superintendent's reports to us. We try to visit every school each year and see as much as we can in an hour.... Any of the provincial tests the Education Committee will go through thoroughly and then report to the whole board....We met with the department heads just last week. This is something the board does three or four times a year. (District R)

> The superintendent keeps us informed, gives us an idea of what is going on in the schools. For example, the board discusses course offerings, what back-to-basics means. Whenever trustees from our board meet trustees from other boards, we are always amazed at how much more comfortable with educational

> matters we are and how much more we know about what is going on in schools. The board looks at each school assessment report and then discusses it with the principal and staff representatives. We're getting better at understanding the reports, the educational language.... The issue of community involvement has been discussed publicly at various times, but not necessarily formally. It has been discussed quite a bit by our present board and senior staff, and even our administrators. We just had a retreat with involving administrators, senior staff and trustees on making schools better, and we came up with a list of seven things that were important for effective schools. (District J)

> There is still some resistance, but the board is determined not to be put off in obtaining these objectives. [Probe: Other than being adamant that the basic objectives of the curriculum and assessment policy must be met, has the board tried to overcome this teacher resistance in any way?] Well, yes, that is why it is taking so long. We chose a course of action of, you know, debate and dialogue to overcome the resistance and win support for the concept in the system rather than overcome the resistance by sweeping it aside. And, of course, that has taken much longer than another route might have. And in the long run it will probably end up being much more successful too, because the other one might never have been free of resistance.... The board gets the print-outs of whatever data the province provides as a result of their testing and monitoring programs. We don't do a direct interpretation at the board level. We get a report that consists of an analysis of these results by district or district- and school-based staff members, who present the report to us. We express our level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the outcome, and we ask questions as to why things are the way they are and what can be done to change where a change is necessary. We get to do that every year, more often than once a year because some these things tend to be cyclical and they always happen at the same time of year. (District F)

> We ask for feedback on certain courses, like if a new course goes in at the end of the year, we want it reviewed for us to see how the assistant superintendent feels it's going and we ask for a report from the teacher and probably a presentation from the teacher that has implemented the course, and even the kids come in and talk about it, into a board meeting or an education committee meeting. We very often have them come in to board meetings and put on a demonstration and answer questions about the courses they are taking. (District W)

As reported above, the successful boards were very knowledgeable about district programs and about specific school activities and circumstances. This certainly can be attributed to the kinds of activities in which they engaged. It was common for the education committee, or sometimes the whole board, to meet regularly with representatives of district curriculum committees to discuss the work of the curriculum committees and to provide "encouragement and input." The boards also met with department heads on specific program matters. They visited schools regularly, and frequently at board or education committee meetings heard presentations or saw demonstrations prepared by school staffs on particular programs and projects. The successful boards did not just rely on district staff reports, although they considered them valuable. They obtained information about programs in different ways and from different sources, and sought opportunities to interact directly with administrators and teachers.

The successful boards were also knowledgeable about district monitoring practices and district performance. They paid serious attention to assessment

reports; not only they did read these reports, but they discussed them thoroughly at board meetings and sought explanations and recommendations from the district staff. In the case of school reviews, they met with the principal and staff representatives of the school involved. Again we see this effort to obtain information in different ways and from different sources and to interact directly with administrators and teachers.

The activities just described, as well as others such as retreats, dinners, and special meetings, provided the successful boards with opportunities to exchange viewpoints with the professionals and remind them of policy objectives and their underlying values. In other words, the successful boards had numerous occasions during which they could exert pressure on the professionals to work toward certain goals and signal to professionals those things to which they ought to pay attention. The other boards did meet with professionals, although less frequently, but these occasions were structured to provide the professionals with opportunities to share their concerns with the board. There was no exchange of perspectives or open discussion of issues.

The successful boards saw the academic preparation and intellectual development of the students as the primary function of the school system, and they devoted much of their time and energy to seeing that district programs and practices were consistent with this value. This would certainly account for the high priority given to the education committee; the amount of time and energy the trustees spent studying reports on district programs, practices, and performance; and the trustees' willingness to meet regularly with the professionals in the district to discuss what was happening and what should be happening. These kinds of activities placed a high demand on board member time and effort, and thus likely signaled to the principals and teachers in the district the seriousness with which issues related to accountability and responsiveness were taken. The focused, well-informed discussions between the board and representatives of school staffs, curriculum committees, and other professional groups not only enabled the board to become increasingly familiar with the progress and circumstances of various groups throughout the district, but enabled the professionals to become increasingly aware of how much the board knew.

Discussion

Table 10 shows the relationship between the success of major board policy initiatives, district performance and district ethos. Although the small sample size and the interpretive nature of the study does not permit generalization, certainly our findings suggest that there are differences in how the policy function of the board is conceptualized and carried out from district to district, and that these differences are related to district performance and district ethos.

These differences between the school boards in our study cannot be explained by trustee demographics. Most of the board members were middle-aged with children in the school system. The proportion of female board members ranged from about one third to nearly half. Most of the board members were farmers, ranchers, or small business owners; others were government employees, generally in some professional capacity. All ran as independents, although many were affiliated with one of the provincial political parties.

Table 10
Board Policy Initiative Success, District Performance and District Ethos

Major Board Policy Initiatives	*High Performance*	*Medium Performance*	*Low Performance*
Successful	Reussir (H) Jointure (H) Fiefdom (H) Wary (H)		
Unsuccessful	Quarantine (M)	Politicate (H)	Halfheart (L) Moribund (L)
None			Collegiate (M)

(H) = evidence of all or nearly all the norms and practices associated with a productive ethos.
(M) = evidence of some of the norms and practices associated with a productive ethos.
(L) = evidence of few, if any, of the norms and practices associated with a productive ethos.

The successful boards seemed to have a clearer sense of what they wanted to accomplish based on a well-established set of values and beliefs and expressed in their policy initiatives than was the case with the other boards. The successful boards achieved a balance of major initiatives related to accountability and responsiveness concerns; the other boards, however, tended to limit their policy initiatives to responsiveness concerns, perhaps a reflection of their desire not to intrude into the domain of the professionals. Furthermore, the successful boards were interested in obtaining a broad base of information and engaged in activities that gave them access to this information. The links between the expressed values and beliefs of the other boards and their knowledge of district programs, practices, and performance on the one hand, and the activities in which they engaged on the other hand, were much weaker.

A possible explanation for the success of the successful boards is that they shared strong and consistent ideological commitments. According to Mitchell (1980),

> the ideological factor (1) links (or fails to link) school board members to their constituencies—thereby determining whether political representation is democratic; (2) defines both the problems and the processes for policy-making and thus determines whether the policy will be intelligent or effective; and (3) communicates a mandate for action for school managers and teachers, thus establishing control over the implementation over policies once they are adopted. (p. 448)

Our data do not allow us to comment on Mitchell's first point. The second point is implicit in the excerpts from the interview transcripts, but one respondent made the point explicitly:

> The statement of philosophy is a means of consolidating our efforts, setting direction, setting emphases, and making sure we work towards them. It has led to the revision of our policy manual. The policy committee works hard to keep it organized and on track. It has helped to bring to the board's attention our areas of responsibility. (District J)

The success of the policy initiatives speaks to the third point. The professionals were well aware of board initiatives, frequently discussed issues related to the initiatives, and were making changes in practice consistent with the initiatives.

The emphasis on academic achievement, instructional quality, and appropriate monitoring mechanisms that is apparent in the interview transcripts of the successful school board members is probably related to the recent change from Ministry appointed to locally appointed superintendents. For the first time these boards were working with a superintendent whom they had selected and who was accountable to them. The old school fiefdoms that had existed under the previous administrative arrangement of superintendents appointed by the provincial Ministry and rotated at short intervals are disappearing. In their place, school districts are emerging. The administrative unit is more than a geographical entity; the board office is more than a place that issues paychecks. Instead, the school district is becoming a place capable of shaping schools and schooling.

Although the policies of the successful boards might on the surface appear concerned with control, in fact the professionals were allowed considerable latitude. The boards did, for example, require that there be some kind of school assessment process, or principal evaluation, or cross-school testing program, but they "delegated control" (Elmore, 1983, p. 343) to the professionals to work out how best to do this. Consider that all four successful boards approved school assessment policies that permitted each school to design its own process within broad district guidelines so as to be most meaningful for its specific purposes. Boyd (1988) suggests that a delegated-control approach:

> reduces the psychic costs of implementation and reform for professionals by generating incentives of professional collaboration, pride, and ownership over policies and programs that professionals have adapted to meet their circumstances and needs. The trick, of course, is to provide leadership that respects educators as professionals but nevertheless motivates substantial change and improvement. (p. 516)

The successful boards seemed to have accomplished this trick. The other boards also felt that involvement of the professionals in the policy process was important, but they limited involvement to presenting briefs and reacting to policy drafts during the policy making process. They assumed that this was enough to give the professionals a sense of ownership and to prepare them for implementation. From the professionals' perspective, however, they were being treated like another interest group; their professional expertise was not being valued. In addition, the successful boards felt it was important to support school implementation efforts. They funded extensive inservice programs, even during times of fiscal restraint.

Clearly the board's level of knowledge and understanding of district programs and practices is an indicator of the board-superintendent relationship. The successful boards were as trusting and respectful of their superintendent as were the unsuccessful boards, but they were more demanding of him or her and dealt with him or her on a more equal footing. Nor did they hire a functionary; the superintendents in these districts were strong and determined leaders in their own right (Coleman & LaRocque, 1988). There was no sense of

one dominating the other or encroaching on the other's domain, but rather of the two working in a complementary fashion toward shared goals. That these boards governed high-performing districts characterized by a productive ethos is further evidence of the success of their approach to leadership.

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Rev. Dr. George W. Kerby: Evangelist for the Home and School

The role of nonprofessional educators in the promotion of educational reform has been a neglected area of historical research. Sheehan (1984, 1985, 1986a, 1986b) has studied the efforts of voluntary societies, especially the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Junior Red Cross, to influence curriculum change in Alberta. Wilson (1978, 1992) focuses on the rural school problem and the efforts of the United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA) to enhance the quality of education in Alberta. In this article the author explores the way Rev. Dr. George W. Kerby attempted the promote an understanding of progressive education or new education by utilizing the Home and School movement in Alberta and Canada. From the material presented it is clear that Kerby's ideas about reform were neither systematic nor entirely in harmony with those of Dewey and other leaders of Progressive Education in North America. Yet as one of the most prominent provincial and national leaders of the Home and School movement in the 1920s and 1930s, his efforts to create an audience for and promote progressive education were an important contribution to the public's [mis]understanding of educational reform.

Le rôle des enseignants non-professionnels sur la promotion de la réforme en éducation a été un aspect négligé de la recherche historique. Sheehan (1984, 1985, 1986a, 1986b) a étudié comment les efforts des sociétés bénévoles, surtout le WCTU et le Junior Red Cross ont influencé les changements de curriculum en Alberta. Wilson (1978, 1992) a concentré sur le problème de l'école rurale et les efforts des UFWA d'améliorer la qualité de l'éducation en Alberta. Dans cet article, l'auteur explore la façon du Révérend Dr. George W. Kerby d'essayer de promouvoir une notion de l'éducation progressive, dite nouvelle éducation, par le véhicule de mouvement Home and School en Alberta et au Canada. Il est évident que les idées de Kerby vis-à-vis la réforme n'étaient ni systématiques ni entièrement harmonieuses avec celles de Dewey et d'autres leaders de l'éducation progressive en Amérique du Nord. Malgré ceci, Kerby est reconnu comme étant un des principaux leaders provinciaux et nationaux du mouvement Home and School pendant les années 1920 et 1930. Ses efforts à créer un auditoire pour le mouvement et à promouvoir l'éducation progressive aidèrent le public à comprendre (ou à ne pas comprendre) la notion de la réforme en éducation.

The 20th century has witnessed the development of a broad spectrum of voluntary associations formed to influence the organization and curricula of public schools in English Canada.[1] One of these movements, the Parent Teacher or Home and School movement, formed specifically to influence and support schools in local jurisdictions, has received little attention from historians of education.[2] This is surprising because the leaders of the national federation of Home and School and provincial organizations were promoters of and spokespersons for educational and social reform across the nation. Reflecting

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changes in social, educational, and religious thought of the early to mid-20th century, these women and men of the Home and School movement challenged schools to become more relevant to the life of the nation and to fulfil their mandates as centers of learning and socialization for the children.

As with many voluntary associations, the leaders not only reflect the goals and objectives of the movement, but helped shape those goals. This is true of the Home and School movement. Whether the Home and School movement accomplished the task of reforming Canadian schools is not the subject of this article. Rather, I explore the ideas of one early leader, the Rev. Dr. George W. Kerby, President of the Canadian Federation of Home and Schools from 1927 to 1938, and specifically the way he utilized his involvement in the Home and School/PTA movement to publicize educational reform in Canada, especially his use of the Alberta Federation of Home and School and the Canadian National Federation of Home and School as fora for the discussion and publicizing of the New Education or the Progressive Education movement.

George W. Kerby: Evangelist and Educator

Born in southwestern Ontario in 1860, George W. Kerby experienced conversion to Methodism in the early 1870s and served as an itinerant preacher in the London Conference before matriculating from Cobourg Collegiate (1884) and with honors from Victoria College, a Methodist liberal arts and theological college (1888), where he edited the college paper *Actus Victoriana* and was class valedictorian. Ordained in 1888, Kerby married Emily Spencer, principal of a public school in Paris, Ontario. Following appointments in Woodstock, Hamilton, St. Catherines, Brantford, and Montreal, he was called to Calgary Central Methodist Church in June 1903 where he remained through 1911. Appointed to the principalship of the Methodist Mount Royal College (MRC) in 1911, Kerby quickly acquired provincial and national prominence as an educator. Kerby remained an active churchman, served on a variety of conference committees and one term as chair of the Alberta Conference, and was an active member of many Calgary service clubs until his death in 1943 (Owen, 1991).

Kerby's career as evangelist and minister, and educator may be seen as two sides of one coin. As an evangelist, he led individuals to an understanding of the path to personal salvation and sought to solve the "young man problem." As an educator he vigorously strove to ensure that students received an education that prepared them for life. Genuinely concerned that the young people of the Dominion did not receive proper citizenship training, he incorporated Christian citizenship into the curriculum of Mount Royal College and reinforced the idea in his many speeches to the Tuxis Boys' Parliament and Calgary service clubs. As a parent, member, and chairman of the Calgary Public School Board (1912-1916) and as an educator Kerby studied pedagogical problems that beset the public school system and the experts' proposed solutions, and, through the public school board (Calgary Public School Board *Minutes* 1914-1918) and parent-teacher associations, endeavored to reform the school system to enable children to be better educated and to receive proper training for life. Kerby became an evangelist for progressive education.

As an educator, Kerby combined traditional ideas and expectations with progressive practices. In his career as spokesperson for the Canadian home and school movement, hence as an educator of public opinion, Kerby's views

reflected the shifting contours of thought among educators and the public between 1910 and 1940 (Patterson 1987a; 1987b). His views on education, particularly the role of the school in the socialization of children and the content of the curriculum, demonstrate a link between the conservative perception of children in the 19th century and a more liberal view of childhood in the mid-20th century (Sutherland, 1976). He demonstrated that progressive educators were not necessarily radical reformists, nor were all of one mind about the nature of children, nor had common understandings of progressivism.

Progressive Education and the New Education movements have similar roots in late 19th century educational reform and the emergence of psychology, especially child study, as a scholarly discipline in the 20th century (Tomkins, 1986). The progressive education movements of the period "attempt[ed] to move away schools away from an emphasis on books, facts, memorization and unrelated and irrelevant material to a focus which taught the whole child using objective methods and familiar content" (p. 43). The progressive education principles, as expounded by American philosophers and educationalists, were not entirely understood by promoters and by teachers. Some Canadian reformers "emphasized learning by doing, focusing on the interests of the learner and developing a child-centered curriculum" (p. 43). The impact of these educational reforms on Canadian schools varied by province and jurisdiction. In some provinces and school districts reforms that were introduced converged on programmatic and organization change: kindergartens, vocational education/manual training, domestic science, and physical education (Sheehan, 1986b). In some provinces, such as Alberta, voluntary associations such as the United Farm Women took a direct interest in the redesign of schooling, usually with some attraction to the American reform proposals. In most districts any change was rhetorical and often confined to educational officials. Although many of the organizational changes (e.g., domestic education) were implemented in the early years of the 20th century, other elements of reform (especially the overhaul of the curriculum) did not occur until the mid- to late 1930s and 1940s (Tomkins, 1986). Yet the ideas on New Education or Progressive Education, although emerging from different intellectual traditions, one British and the other American, had a profound impact on the Parent-Teacher/Home and School movement and its leading spokespersons in the period up to 1950.

The Home and School/Parent-Teacher Movement

The contributions of leaders of the Canadian Home and School movement to Canadian education are not well known. George Kerby is better known for his contributions as an evangelist and principal of Mount Royal College (Owen, 1991); Laycock for his contribution to educational psychology in Saskatchewan (Cherneskey, 1978).[3] Yet Home and School leaders saw it as their task to educate the public on the needs of the school. Loran A. DeWolfe, Director of Rural Science for the Nova Scotia Council of Public Instruction (Norman, 1970, 1974) urged teachers to form PTA groups in their communities as mechanisms for enhancing schools and the teaching profession. As a leader of the movement,[4] DeWolfe employed Home and School networks to encourage progressive education reform. For DeWolfe the Nova Scotia Federation was "a powerful vehicle for rousing the people to an awareness of the deficiencies and

needs of their schools, especially in rural areas" (Norman 1970, pp. 284-286). Although prominent educators were leaders of the Home and School/PTA movement (Madder, 1963), Delhi (1988) shows that women with links to women's and social reform associations used the Toronto Home and School Council as a tool for promoting social and educational reform.

The Home and School movement in Canada had roots in the American Mothers' Club movement of the late 19th century. As with similar reform movements of the era, the Mothers' Clubs had middle-class origins, primarily among women concerned with the exploitation of children in the industrial centers, the rate of urbanization and the apparently concomitant plagues of slum housing, overcrowding of tenements, unsanitary conditions, and high infant mortality rates, and immigration from southern and eastern Europe. These social evils involved children, often as petty criminals, and reflected poorly on the state of morality of the nation. Middle-class reformers created a multitude of institutions and movements through which these evils were to be remedied. The playground movement, the "city-beautiful" movement, the "child-saving" movement and juvenile and family courts were efforts to remedy urban social problems.[5] As volunteer groups formed to deal with social ills, networks of women and men developed that shared a common interest in social reform. In the United States and Canada, promoters of these movements shared a liberal conception of childhood and adolescence (Sutherland, 1976). As Madder (1963) argues,

> this growing awareness of the neglect and exploitation of children, the distress over mothers' ignorance of health and nutrition, the new knowledge brought about by the study of psychology that caused groups of mothers to draw the attention of teachers, legislators and doctors to these conditions afflicting North America's children. (p. 8)

An 1897 National Congress of Mothers "drew ... the broad outlines of what mothers and fathers, teachers, clubwomen, scientists social workers, social reformers, and all the rest of the decent-minded citizenry were to be worried about and trying to do something about" (p. 9).

Connections between American and Canadian Home and School initiatives were close.[6] Canadian women and men of the middle and professional classes interacted with their American counterparts through temperance organizations, Chataugua, church organizations, purity leagues, and playground reform movements. As with other social and religious movements of the era, the PT/Home and School movement cannot be easily attributed to any one individual nor, at the outset, to a formalized effort. Although Mothers' Clubs and Parent-Teacher Clubs formed about the same time in different jurisdictions, as one identifies leaders, seeks out the interactions between leaders, and traces the formation of individual clubs and associations, linkages and "influences" are revealed.[7]

Similar connections existed between members of the Alberta Federation of Home and Schools and the Calgary Local Council of Women, the YWCA, and other associations. The first Alberta Home and School Club had its inception in 1913 when Miss Willetts, a primary school teacher at Calgary's Connaught School returned from a visit to southern Ontario "enthusiastic over the aims and purposes of the Mothers' Clubs that were being formed there" (Madder,

1963, pp. 12-13). Her enthusiasm infected both teachers and parents at Connaught School, and a Mothers' Club and Art League were formed, led by Alice Marion Curtis, who in 1922 became the first president of an Alberta Home and School Association. Emerging from the Connaught Mothers' Club (Lumgair, 1979),[8] Alberta's Home and School movement was supported from Ontario. At the 1922 Calgary Parent-Teachers' Conference Mrs. J.W. Johnston, a special representative of Ontario's Home and School Clubs, advised the Calgary Home and School Council on "the advisability of forming a civic, provincial and possibly National Federation" (Glenbow-Alberta Archives, 1922-1924).

Early home and school associations multiplied rapidly in and about Calgary and southern Alberta (Frey, 1962; Partin, 1963). When Johnston addressed the Calgary Parent-Teachers Conference in September 1922, 10 PTAs were represented. At the October 1922 meeting of associations, "eight associations voted in favor of a Local Conference, five for civic federation and eleven against federation" (Glenbow-Alberta Archives, 1922-1924). When organized in November, the Local Conference included seventeen PTAs. The First Parent-Teacher Conference (1922) delineated the new organization's aims, which would later be promoted by Kerby. The Local Conference was to be a forum where PTA representatives discussed "matters of interest ... in connection with school activities," how to direct the energies of locals "in the channels which will work for the best co-operation between parents and teachers," and to assist local organizations "in carrying on of their work." At monthly meetings teachers, school board and departmental officials and PTA members addressed pressing issues that had an impact on the education of children: "The History Course" for Alberta public school, "Malnutrition in Schools," and Bible readings in the schools (Glenbow-Alberta Archives, 1922-1924). Over the period 1922 to 1926 the Parent-Teacher Conference continued to debate such weighty matters as "The morals of our school children," the Junior Red Cross, home and school work in Ontario and British Columbia, playgrounds, lower summer fares for children on railways, the value of a natural history museum to Calgary schoolchildren, and marking departmental examinations that in practice focused on "mis-spelling of historical and proper names" rather than "the accuracy and correctness of the material presented" (Glenbow-Alberta Archives, 1922-1924). Such talks educated parents on issues of importance to the public school system and mobilized support for educational reform. Kerby, in his tenure as president of the Alberta and Canadian Federations of Home and School Associations, clearly enunciated these dual purposes in his talks to local home and school associations, to the national and provincial federations, and to the public.

In November 1926, when the Calgary Local Conference of PTAs was transformed into the Local Federation of Home and School Associations, Kerby was elected president. By 1929 sufficient interest had been generated for an Alberta Federation to be formed on March 1, again with Kerby elected as president. When on August 11, 1927, in conjunction with meetings of the Ontario Education Association and the World Federation of Educational Associations, representatives of Home and School and Parent-Teacher Associations and provincial departments of education met in Toronto to discuss the formation of a national association, agreement was readily reached, and again Kerby was

elected president, with Mrs A.C. Courtice of Toronto as First Vice-President, of the Canadian National Federation of Home and School. One day later, representatives of 12 nations' home and school/PTA federations, at the meetings of the World Federation of Educational Associations, formed an International Federation, with Mrs A.H. Reeve of Philadelphia as President and Kerby as first Vice-President.[9] Although there is little information on Kerby's activities as president of the Calgary PTAs and the organization's transformation into a provincial federation, he was one of Calgary's most prominent educators, with a provincial and national reputation.

An Evangelist for Progressive Education

In his successful 1914 campaign as school trustee in Calgary, Kerby's familiarity with existing curricular problems and proposals for curricular reform illustrated a broad understanding of the goals of the New Education movement, then in its infancy in Canada. The principles for curricular reform brought together his longstanding interest in the problems of youth, the practical issues of a school administrator, and the concerns of a public school trustee. In 1914 he urged Calgarians to

> [broaden] our School Curriculum. Western Canada must hold tenaciously to the cultural idea in Education. It must just as surely make every provision for Continuation Schools, for Technical, Agricultural and Pre-Vocation Schools. There must be less fitting of the Boy or Girl to a curriculum and more adjusting of the curriculum to meet the needs of the boy or girl.
>
> I believe the School should be run for the children and not the children for the School. The Teacher, Equipment, Playground, Building, textbooks, exist for the children. The School system is for the child, not the child for the system. The school question is not a question of statistics, but a question of life, character and citizenship.
>
> I believe in a greater emphasis on the beneficial, the artistic, the aesthetic. (Kerby, 1914)

Kerby's perspective on curricular reform, especially the focus on the child, is consistent with those of leading Canadian school reformers of the period. Sutherland (1976) argues that school reformers,

> mostly though not entirely drawn from outside the educational system, prodded, pushed, and cajoled Canadian schools to change what they were trying to do with their charges. [Some], as they came to a new view of child, family, and the process of schooling in Canadian society, tried to make schools more humane, more child-centered, and more responsive to the way in which children grew. [Others], as they examined the effects of the rapidly changing nature of work in rural and urban Canada attempted to make schools more practical and relevant to the later lives of their inmates. (p. 157)

Kerby appreciated these trends in educational thought, an awareness of which was reflected in the organization and administration of Mount Royal College and his approach to educational reform represented the amalgam of these complementary trends.

Fifteen years later as President of the Canadian Federation of Home and Schools and Vice-President of the International Federation, Kerby took the familiar persona of the evangelist to promote interest in and support for

progressive education. The Canadian Federation and the Alberta Federation were the fora in which he preached the message of curricular and organizational reform to the converted and the committee. Although Kerby's reports to the Canadian National Federation of Home and School related the history and the expansion of the Canadian movement, a necessary basis for new members' understanding the efficacy of the movement, they served as a medium for the inspirational messages on the role of the Home and School movement in the reform of education of children. Kerby's underlying message was that the Home and School movement benefited children only insofar as it enhanced the curriculum of the schools, marshalled public support for progressive reforms, and educated parents. The PTA, Kerby stated, was

> a channel thro[ough] wh[ich] the findings of specialists in the field of education—hygiene, psychology, mental hygiene and sociology, can be passed on in simple forms to parents, teachers & community in general. The Parent Teacher work is organized for one purpose only—to promote the interests of children, individually and collectively. It seeks to discover the method and principles which will enable parents, teachers ... to work together for the improvement of all conditions which [a]ffect child life. (1932a)

Always conscious of the need to expose the public to new ideas on educational reform, Kerby promoted the Home and School as an educational medium through which reformist ideas could be transmitted to national meetings and local groups. The central components of his speeches to the Canadian Federation of Home and Schools and local associations focused on explaining the role of the Home and School movement, especially the need for home and school cooperation, and on the requirements for curriculum reform. His speeches emphasized a number of themes, some educational, some nationalistic. Kerby urged the building of a common Canadian nationality and the role of the school in that effort, the creation of a child-centered curriculum and school, an understanding of the psychological basis of curricular reform, and an understanding of the philosophy of New Education (or Progressive Education) movement. This latter goal was integrated within the other goals but was also the focus of speeches presented at meetings of the CFHS.

The Home and School Idea

Kerby built his commitment to the idea of the Home and School on his belief that the movement established a common understanding of the purposes of education between the school and the home. Because he believed that the principal objective of schooling was the promotion of child welfare, in *Why I believe in the Home and School Movement* (Kerby, n.d.) three of the four principles iterated focused on the centrality of child in the educational process.

> First—because the conservation of child life is the most important problem in the world, and the crux of the statement is "the heart of the child."
>
> Second—because it brings the cooperation, the experience, the knowledge, the judgment, and the technique of the parent and teacher to bear upon the better understanding of the physical, emotional, mental, social and moral nature of the child.
>
> Third—because this movement centering in and about the child is free from the narrowing affect of racial, political, national and religious prejudice.

> Fourth—because it represents the most promising opportunity ... for the promotion of unity, comity and good will, looking towards permanent peace and progress in the life of the world.

To Kerby, home and school cooperation was an essential element "in bringing about better conditions for childhood."

Yet he did not view unambiguously the relationship of the home and the school in this endeavor. Analogous to one element of his evangelistic message in which he subordinated the responsibilities of the church to the home's priority to properly care for the child and youth, in his speeches as a Home and School evangelist, the home often was subordinated to the school. The home became "the experiment station of the school"—an extension of the school and its great project in character building and training for citizenship. In an address to the Ramsey School PTA, Calgary (c. 1932a), Kerby reasserted curriculum development as the domain of the professional educator. Home and School leaders believed that the home—a proper home—was essential for the moral, social, and physical health of the child; many believed, as Kerby stressed in this address, that in education the home was clearly the auxiliary to the school. The home may be "the child's first school," but parents held the responsibility to send to school "a clean child, properly nourished, mentally alert, and free from medical defects." Moreover, parents "should understand the purposes of the school and give adequate support to its programs ... support the school administration and the observance of all laws." The school had responsibilities to discharge as well, but it was not the handmaiden to the home. Yet, reflecting his view of the nurturing home life, Kerby claimed for the home "complete equality" with the school in the "cooperative venture" of training children as complete citizens.

Moreover, although Kerby claimed that the Home and School movement was not "a crusade to reform the schools," he used the movement as a platform to promote progressive education reform ideals. This use of the movement for the promotion of progressive educational ideas can be viewed similarly to his use of evangelistic meetings to bring the committed yet unconverted to an understanding of salvation and to support the local church. The movement, he emphasized, did not support interference with the responsibilities of teachers and school administrators, but instead the creation of "intelligent" support of the goals of the school and the development "within the home of attitudes and conditions" that ensured the success of the school's mandate of educating the child (Kerby, n.d., *Founders Day Address on the Home and School Movement*). In an address promoting progressive education, Kerby explained the mutual nature of cooperation between home and school: "Since the child's life at school and at home is an integral whole, the school cannot accomplish its purpose without the active support and intelligent cooperation of the parents. Reciprocally the school should aid the home in problems concerned with the child" (Kerby, n.d., *Progressive Education*). Other home and school leaders asserted vigorously the role of the home and school associations, distinguishing these associations from other voluntary societies that promoted certain educational programs such as the Red Cross and those that existed to provide service to the school, for example, fundraising (Laycock, c. 1945). The Home and School movement, therefore, served essentially to link the home to the school.

The School as Nation Builder

Kerby's efforts to link the home with the school took many forms. If noninterference in the administration of the school was one assumption of the movement, another was the home's duty to support the school in its efforts to develop Canadian citizenship among the conglomerate of nationalities that joined together in the public schools of Western Canada. Like many of his contemporaries, Kerby proclaimed the centrality of the school in this task. "The place of the school in the life of the nation" could not "be over-estimated." The objectives of character building and nation building were undermined by the school's organization and its curriculum (Kerby, n.d., *The Sins of the School or Some Weaknesses and Defects*). Emphasizing this theme in a speech delivered shortly after World War I, Kerby claimed that "the greatest problem facing education at the present time is the development of right citizenship" (Kerby, n.d., *Educational Objectives*). However, Kerby felt that its existing organization undermined this nation building goal of the school. Echoing progressive educators who saw schools as political instruments in the building up of democratic institutions, he declared that Canada's "democracy depends upon whether or not we have an educational system that is a hard and fast, cut and dried straight-jacket [sic] affair, or one that is a vehicle of life" (Kerby, c. 1932c). The old curriculum mirrored the nondemocratic nature of schooling. Apparently contradicting this view, Kerby returned to this canon in his 1935 (1935b) address to the CFHS. In a manner that current scholars find offensive, he linked the development of an educated citizenry to the mental hygiene movement. Kerby argued on behalf of the "normal child" and against efforts to divert resources to children with special needs. He criticized the attention paid to the "sub-normal child." He thus censured the state for permitting individuals with "mental disturbances" to reproduce (Kerby, 1935b). Influenced by the mental hygiene movement, Kerby urged that "minimum requirements of mental and physical health should be ... required of those who shall be licensed to bring children into the world to reproduce the race." "We cannot," he argued, "too strongly emphasize the menace of marriage of the unfit and the need of a sound mental inheritance" for the progress of the nation. It was, he believed, "the crime of crime[s] ... to bring into the world poor sickly, neurotic creatures whose whole life must be spent in suffering, in fighting disease, and in combatting conditions it has not the stamina to fight" (Kerby, 1935b). Such individuals undermined the national character.

This emphasis does not contradict Kerby's support of progressivism in education and his emphasis on the environment of the school and the home as training grounds for good citizenship. In the early 20th century, environmentalism and eugenics often coexisted in the thought of liberal reformers.

The Child-centered Curriculum

Kerby well represented the generation of Canadians for whom the concept of childhood shifted dramatically from one in which, Sutherland (1976) argues, children were perceived primarily as partially formed adults, restive, refractory, "but nonetheless basically plastic raw material" to be shaped, through discipline and constant vigilance, into hardworking productive adults (p. 11). Children in Kerby's youth were viewed as "inherently evil, but ... innocent because of their irresponsibility" (Semple, 1981, p. 160). These views under-

went an extreme shift, at least among middle-class English-Canadians. In the mixture of 19th century evangelism and 20th century progressivism that comprised Kerby's educational and theological thought, we find a consistent view of children as innocents, who without the proper guidance and training, love and affection could be corrupted by a noxious social environment. Although he saw the child as a "plant" with the potential to flower into a strong Christian citizen, this would not occur without the cooperation of the three main societal institutions: the home, the school, and the church. The home was most important. The school was the second most important agency. The church, an auxiliary to the home, had important roles to fulfill. Kerby believed that these institutions, especially the home and the school in urban Canada were out of sync, and none fulfilled adequately its role as a nurturing or training ground for future citizens.

Part of the problem was the rigidity of Canadian schools, a school system devised for the mid-19th century view of children. Thoughtful parents, Kerby stated, "are dissatisfied with our public school system on the grounds of too rigid standardization and that the pupils are machinely crammed for examinations" (Kerby, c. 1933). Efforts to introduce progressive methods into teaching were unsuccessful, in part because teachers were resistant to innovation and partly because of parental expectations (Patterson, 1987b; Kach, 1987). Resistance to reform was not unexpected, as school systems in the western provinces could not meet the demand for new schools, train enough teachers, and, in the 1930s, ensure that the meager standards of schooling, especially in rural areas, were preserved. Teachers, with the exception of those in urban elementary and secondary school and private institutions such as Mount Royal College, were not always well trained, many entering teaching with a short training course following high school. With a careful turn of phrase that offended neither teachers nor the middle class who comprised the core of the Home and School movement, he asserted that "there is a danger of our ignoring the possibility of there being just as many teachers who are not suited to have children in their care, as there are undesirable parents" (Kerby, c. 1932b). Kerby attacked not the messengers, but the curriculum to which they taught.

In his view, the curriculum of Canadian schools and the methods of teaching aimed at "intellect, training, facts, conformity, acquiescence, knowledge for knowledge's sake, control, discipline, science." He censured a curriculum that apparently ensured children "of a given age know a specific number of facts" and that failed "to take into account the different type of children." Kerby lamented the "serious" effect on students and teachers of the "present rigid examination system" that he claimed reduced "High schools to examination coaching schools." Not without a sense of irony, this straitlaced evangelical minister proclaimed that the Canadian "system of education has tended too much to establish something in the form of a procrustean bed. In effect, we say, 'Fit this educational bed or be damned'" (Kerby, c. 1934). Such a curriculum, he informed the Parent-Teacher Association of Ramsey School, was (Kerby, 1931) "hopelessly out-of-date." The perception that children were merely empty vessels to be filled with information was static, called for the mastery of facts, and "finished the child's education."

In his thought and practice, Kerby was committed to a curriculum that was more than the "imparting of knowledge ... the process by which young people prepare for vocational skills or the attainment of a bread and butter equipment for life" (Kerby, 1936). Education "begins" a child's life, permits the child "mastery of life," provides for the "development of emotional life, art, initiative, freedom, activity, knowledge for use, reason and life problems" (Kerby, 1932c). Schools, he urged, should be vehicles for character training and should focus on the individual child, not a mass of children. Schools and the curriculum must place "the individual [child] in the centre of the school organization." The teacher's chief interest should lay "not in books but on growth" of children. Schools, he explained, ought "to train minds to think, and the individual to adjust himself to contemporary conditions of life." The curriculum must be arranged to answer "such questions as the functions of the body, the nature and process of the mind and of the emotions, home obligations, civic duties, and present-day questions awaiting solution" Kerby "exploded" traditionalist theory that "only subjects such as mathematics [are] necessary for brain drill." "Cannot," he asked, "problem solving ability be gained in the study of humanities just as well as in the study of arithmetic?"

These views on the reform of the school curriculum reflected those of other proponents of progressive education. Although there are references to Dewey, Rugg, Parker, and Washburne in his notebooks and speeches (Kerby, 1932c), reflecting a broad reading of progressive education literature, it is surprising that Kerby does not refer to progressive educational reform that was underway in Alberta and Saskatchewan during the 1930s. Such omission may be an oversight because he was in touch with university, normal school, and government officials, including teacher and future premier William Aberhart, as well as teachers and trustees who would have been aware of the ongoing debate over curriculum reform in the province. During his tenure as trustee and Chairman of the Calgary School Board (1914-1917), Kerby participated in debates over curriculum reform, especially in the realm of home economics and vocational education. Moreover, Kerby attended the New Education Fellowship conference in Elsinor, Denmark, in 1929, representing the Canadian Federation of Home and Schools. The impact of this conference on Kerby's thought is marked in his speeches over the next half decade. Yet it appears that he was not a member of a Canadian branch of the NEF or the Progressive Education Association formed in Canada, nor did he attend the joint meetings of the NEF and PEA held in Canada in 1938 and 1939.[10]

As an evangelist for progressive education in the 1930s, Kerby visited home and school associations and service and church groups to expound on the principles of progressive educational reform and "The Challenge of the Child."[11] At these meetings, which were primarily educational, he related his experiences from national and international meetings and spoke as an expert on recent trends in curriculum reform, the best practices, and the progressive philosophy of education, bringing to Canadian parents the feeling that they were part of a worldwide movement in the improvement of educational practices. In his talks on progressive education or the New Education Fellowship (1932a), Kerby linked the new psychology and its impact on the curriculum, a major theme of the 1929 Elsinor conference, and his belief in the scientific

method. Scientific research on understanding, he related, "instead of criticising or condemning the difficulties of the child" urged that "the program should be fitted to the child, not the child to the program" (Kerby, 1935a).

Curriculum reform became the most important aspect of much of Kerby's writings on progressive education or the New Education. He criticized the curriculum because it was often irrelevant to the needs of the children, was too teacher-centered, or did not prepare the child for life in the community. Moreover, both the organization of the curriculum and the structure of the school experience hindered effective learning. Modern schools, he suggested, could make "the material of instructions more meaningful by bringing them in closer vital relationship with the activities and occupations of the home and neighborhood with life itself" (Kerby, 1932c). Reflecting these principles, Kerby returned to the issue of the curriculum. A proper curriculum was one "based on the nature and needs of childhood and youth" (Kerby, n.d., *Progressive Education*). As with other writings on the New Education and specifically the revision of the curriculum, Kerby emphasized that children must acquire "knowledge as far as possible through the scientific method of first-hand observation, investigation, experimentation and independent search for material. Through these activities," he and his progressive colleagues claimed, "the world of books and abstract ideas is entered." Thus the school expanded the world of children, leading them "to [an] appreciation of national ideals, [and] to a realization of the interdependence of peoples." In progressive terms, the teacher became a guide who directed the pupils

> in observing, experimenting and forming judgments that [they] may learn how to use various sources of information including life activities as well as books ... how to reason about the information thus acquired, and how to express logically and effectively the conclusion reached. (Kerby, n.d., *Progressive Education*)

These reformist or progressive principles altered the role of the teacher, at least in Western Canada. Teachers now became individuals who required "an understanding of child psychology," individuals who "should study and endeavour to meet the individual needs and capacities of each child."
Thus the evaluation of children would no longer

> be confined to the marks given by teachers to show the advancement of pupils in their study of subjects, but should ... include both objective and subjective reports on those physical, mental, emotional and social characteristics which concern both school and adult life, and which can be affected by the school and the home. Such records should be used as a guide for the treatment of each pupil.

The school, therefore, was an educational laboratory, "where new methods are encouraged and where the best of the past is leavened by the discoveries of the present, and the result freely added to the sum of educational knowledge" (Kerby, n.d., *Progressive Education*).

The New Education, in contrast to antiquated educational ideas and practices, promoted "greater freedom for the child, at the same time as it stresses the evils that may arise and the wrong understanding of the changing discipline on the part of those who confuse it with licence" (Kerby, 1932c). Progressive curriculum recognized the need of the child to be active and that "the child knowing and doing could not be artificially separated." "New age"

teachers were central to the development of principles of self-government in children. Kerby criticized existing methods of discipline that were based on "medieval theology" rather than "the sciences of psychology." He argued that "repression and fear in childhood cause[d a] lack of mental balance in later life." Children could develop

> their latent powers and learn to discipline themselves only if given the right conditions. The personality of the teacher is the most vital condition of all. All this means that self-government requires fine teachers ... with understanding of child psychology, patience and vision ... Purpose should be placed before penalty. Such external means of educational control as rewards and punishments fail to stir the real life of the child. (Kerby, 1932c)

Again, one sees the joining of the more liberal views of child nature, the new psychology, New Education and the needs of democratic institutions in Kerby's thought. For Kerby (1935a), therefore, the New Education provided parents and teachers with a blueprint "of the goals toward which the new education is tending." In his explication of the principles of the New Education or progressive education, which in the writing of Kerby and the understanding of many laypersons were synonymous, he focused on physical well-being of children, on social development and self-discipline ("self-mastery rather than external compulsion"), on the environment of the school, home and community, and on the need to develop students' interest in school work through activities. Student interest, he advised, is developed primarily through the students' "direct and indirect contact" with the world around them, the "application of knowledge ... gained" in these contacts, the linkages formed between different subjects, and "the consciousness of achievement."

The reality, Kerby lamented, was a curriculum "hopelessly out-of-date," one that excluded the physical and moral training while promoting mental gymnastics. Progressive educators, and Kerby among them in practice and theory, promoted instead (1932a) "the development of the whole child—body, brains and character." All these comprised "the field of the professional educator." The New Education or Progressive Education was built upon the "inseparableness of the child and its heredity and environment; that relationship to the home and community as well as to the school which makes up the total of its life."

Kerby, the School, and the Home

Thus we come full circle in the educational thought of George W. Kerby. As a spokesperson for a generation of educational reformers, he bridged the gap between the 19th century world of "repressive" educational systems, however positive their intentions, and the mid-20th-century debate between the "progressives" and the Neatby school (Neatby, 1953; Ross, 1992). Kerby and his co-workers in the provincial and national federations of home and school associations were keenly interested in educational reform and the way in which the home and the school needed to cooperate in the great task of creating a Canadian citizenry. In his many talks on the Home and School movement, he did little to address the practical elements of implementing progressive educational reform in the classroom or how the school and the home could accomplish their great task. Moreover, as an evangelist for an educational reform

association that promoted teachers as curriculum professionals and advocated parental noninterference in the core activities of the school, Kerby effectively used the home and school movement as a platform to buttress the professional status of teachers, while ensuring that parents kept involved in the implementation of progressive educational reform.

The importance of Kerby's discussion of New Education or Progressive Education through the Home and School movement is the way in which he failed to present a coherent, unified outline of progressive educational thought and practice. Indeed, Kerby did not distinguish between New Education and Progressive Education, a practice that was common among Canadian educational reformers (Sheehan, 1986b). Tomkins (1986) also notes that many Canadian educators were members both of the NEF and the Progressive Education Association (pp. 196-198). While historians of education sift through the writings of educators to identify how their thought developed and the coherence of their philosophy of education in thought and practice, it is likely that many lay participants and teachers, like Kerby who was an evangelist for educational reform but also a pragmatic administrator of a large private school and junior college in Calgary, harbored both reform tendencies and conservative views. Their views were not as systematic as those delineated by the framers of educational philosophies. As an evangelist for the Home and School movement, Kerby promoted the movement as a mechanism for reducing barriers between the home and the school and lessening the antagonism between teachers and school administrators on the one hand and parents on the other, all with the goal to better prepare the children for the real world of economic reconstruction. For the educational historian it is the question of how professional and lay educational leaders use voluntary associations such as the Home and School movement to build up a constituency for educational reform. What is problematic, however, with some significant exceptions (Sheehan, 1992; Wilson, 1992), is the near-silence of historians of education on the role of nonprofessionals, that is, nonteachers and nonbureaucrats, in the promotion and support of educational reform. Association movements such as the Home and School, with their thousands of members, were forces within public education, but those whose influence on educational reform was carefully circumscribed by the professional needs of teachers and the educational needs of children. The processes by which the lay members of these associations were influenced by and understood educational reform, and controlled the reform process needs much further study. Moreover, for individuals such as George W. Kerby, the relationship between their conservative social views, their religious beliefs, and their platform of progressive education reform needs to be carefully investigated and analyzed. The connections between apparently contradictory perspectives may be surprising as we study the implementation of and reaction to educational reform measures.

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Notes

1. Churches and lay organizations including the Women's Christian Temperance Society, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, United

Farm Women of Alberta, and boards of trade as well as teachers' organizations have pressured politicians, provincial educational authorities, school boards, and schools to change or enhance the curricula. Such efforts to alter the direction of education through curricular change have had mixed success, even when the goals of the voluntary associations coincided with those of politicians or education bureaucrats. Other influences hindered the innovation or proposed changes. See, for example, Wilson (1978, 1992); Sheehan (1980, 1984, 1985, 1986) and Mawhinney and Cooke (1992).

2. Few historians of education in Canada mention the Home and School/Parent-Teacher movement, and fewer still devote any attention to the ideas of its leaders and members or to the impact of the movement on the education in Canadian provinces. Gregor and Wilson (1984) mention the home and school and parent-teacher Federation of Manitoba as one of the "most influential" organizations that "devoted themselves to the general improvement of education in the province," (p. 116) citing Madder's thesis. Phillips (1957, pp. 295-296) mentions the "first of the local parent-teachers groups ... set up in Craigflower, BC, in 1915" and the role of Mrs. A.C. Courtice of Toronto. Little analysis of the role of the PTA or Home and School movements appears in these or any other history of education in Canada. The exceptions are Norman (1970, 1974) and Madder (1963). Madder's short study of the movement provides much useful information, if little analysis. Norman focuses entirely on the career of Loran A. DeWolfe.
3. S.R. Laycock was president of the Canadian Federation of Home and Schools from 1943-1947.
4. L.A. DeWolfe was national president of the Canadian Federation of Home and School from 1938-1942.
5. The literature on progressive reform movements in the United States is extensive. Among others, see Wiebe (1977), Platt (1977), Boyer (1978), and Hofstadter (1955).
6. In the history of the Home and School movement in Canada, Mrs. Alexander Graham Bell of Baddeck, NS, is seen as a moving force. Her interest in the mothers' club movement began in Baddeck in the 1890s when parents, mostly women who were interested in the upbringing of children in their school district, held regular meetings in the local school. In 1894-1895, Bell visited with similar organizations in Washington, DC. On December 18, 1895, the Baddeck Parents' Association was formed. Although women and mothers guided the work during its formative years, as teachers and fathers became involved organizations' names changed accordingly from Mothers' Clubs to Parents' Clubs to Parent-Teacher Clubs (Madder, 1963, pp. 9-10).
7. Phillips (1957, p. 295) notes the formation of the Ontario Federation of Home and School in 1918 and provincial federations in British Columbia (1922), Alberta (1929), Nova Scotia (1936), New Brunswick and Saskatchewan (1938), Quebec (1940), and Manitoba (1943). For the provincial federations the influence of Ontario personnel and leaders such as G.W. Kerby, A.C. Courtice, and L. DeWolfe can be traced with some accuracy. However, these men and women often built on solid local associations and the interest of local parents and teachers. Extant institutional histories and speeches do identify personalities and their efforts to create Home and School movements in Ontario, Nova Scotia, and Alberta.
8. Alice Marion Curtis, a leading force in the formation of the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations in 1929, was the second president of the Association (1932-1935).
9. Mrs. A.H. (Margaretta W.) Reeve, a well-known educator in the United States, published pamphlets and reports on the Parent-Teacher movement. See Lombard and Reeve (1927, 1924a, 1924b); *Home and School Co-operation: Report of the Subcommittee on Cooperation of Home and School, Chairman Mrs A.H. Reeve*—(1932).
10. Patterson (1987b) notes that two meetings of the New Education Fellowship were held in Canada in 1938 and 1939. One was held in Edmonton. Apparently Kerby did not attend either. Tomkins (1986) notes that the NEF was an example of British progressive influence in Canada and that in Western Canada many individuals were members of both the NEF and the PEA.
11. See, for example, Importance of the Child as the Men and Women of Tomorrow (n.d.). It is interesting to note that in this report on Kerby's speeches to the Wilmot United Church and the Provincial Normal School that he spoke on the evil influences of bad books, pictures, dance halls, and companions on the teen age child," the need to make the schools the base for a better Canada" and to develop a spirit of Canadianism."

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